MAN OF THE WEEK AT BANDUNG BY SAM A. JAFFE

THE Nation

April 30, 1955
20c

Spring Books

WILLIAM SAROYAN

JOHN CARTER VINCENT

WALTER MILLIS

JOHN CIARDI

CARLOS BAKER

AND OTHERS

APR 28 195

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

Haitian Story . . .

Dear Sirs: It is with a sense of sorrow that I write to you about the article called Haitian Volcano by Bernard D. Nossiter, that appeared in your issue of March 26. It was particularly painful to read it in your magazine, because still fresh in my mind is the glorious role played by The Nation and its editor, Oswald Garrison Villard, in Haiti's struggle for independence, 1915-36. During those years The Nation helped us hold nigh the banner of our cause.

As a newspaperman, now the publisher of Haiti's largest and oldest daily, I have always believed that a good correspondent must be objective and must give both sides of a question. Unfortunately, Mr. Nossiter describes only the seamy aspect of Haiti. And he seems to have based his article not on verifiable facts but on back-street gossip and the murmurs of the discontented. He repeats abuse and destructive criticism but ignores evident and impressive facts. I would like to cite a few of these facts.

During his five years in office President Magloire has established universal suffrage in the elections for chief of state, given women the right to vote, organized for the first time in Haiti's history labor and trade unions, established adult education centers, built three hundred schools, built a hundred miles of new roads, helped to establish forty new industries giving employment and new skills to many workers, inaugurated a slum-clearance program and built several "workers' cities," increased tourism by 400 per cent, and sponsored the Artibonite Valley development with a new system of land distribution to peasants. It would take too long to enumerate all the other achievements of President Magloire's government.

I will not detail the inaccuracies in Mr. Nossiter's report. Let me only mention that all former presidents of the Senate are present and accounted for—none are in hiding as asserted by Mr. Nossiter—and that I can furnish him the complete statistics of the National Bank of Haiti, which he could not or would not find.

Mr. Nossiter seems to suggest that he did not find freedom in Haiti. As a newspaperman, he must know that freedom of the press is the accurate barometer of general freedom. As a newspaperman he must also be aware that, after full investigation, the Freedom of Information Committee of the Inter-American Press Association regularly lists Haiti as a nation enjoying freedom of the press.

Naturally, no country is perfect. The people of Haiti have undergone deep suffering for many centuries. They were the first to follow the United States in raising the flag of freedom in the Western Hemisphere. They declared their independence in 1804 and, to drive out the French colonists, they engaged in a scorched-earth campaign that left the country devastated and barren, one of the poorest in the Western Hemisphere.

The road to progress has been uphill and rocky, but we have advanced steadily along it. It is a pity to see national effort toward a better life belittled by the superficial comments of a hit-and-run reporter. Fortunately, such a reporter must be considered a minority of one, since all other correspondents from the United States and other countries have been fair and favorable to our people and their government.

ERNEST GEORGES CHAUVET,
Permanent Delegate of Haiti to the U.N.
New York

. . . The Author's Answer

Dear Sirs: M. Chauvet questions two statements of fact in my article. He suggests without saying so directly that the National Bank has issued a monthly bulletin since July. Unable to find one in Haiti, I made a last check at M. Chauvet's office at 32 Broadway, New York City, in March. There I was told that the latest bulletin was that of July, 1954. He also says that all former Senate presidents are "accounted for." I hope this does not mean that Jean Belizaire, a founder of the short-lived Civil Liberties League, has been discovered and re-arrested since I left Haiti in February.

M. Chauvet talks of Haiti's "freedom of the press." With the suppression of Le Constitutionel the country's last independent paper went out of existence. The government, through Ministry of Interior handouts, subsidizes Haiti's press. Editors of the more servile papers are rewarded with government jobs and trips abroad. It was M. Chauvet's own Le Nouvelliste that stressed the universal "applause" for Magloire's praise of the police who murdered two men posting anti-government signs.

M. Chauvet speaks of "back-street gossip." In Haiti I interviewed leaders in the nation's political and cultural life. Unfortunately, I cannot reveal their names. Some now bear the marks of Police Chief Prosper's hospitality, and none are anxious to repeat the experience.

M. Chauvet points to the "constructive" achievements of the regime:

Suffrage—after Magloire deposed President Dumarsais Estime, the Ministry of the Interior conducted a plebiscite. Magloire was awarded 98.7 per cent of the ballots; the runner-up called the election "hokum" and refused to vote.

Unions—they actually flourished under Estime. The Magloire regime subsequently boasted in "The Haitian Economy in 1954," a pamphlet for American investors, that unions now are weak and few in number.

Schools—I saw some of the new "schools" in St. Marc. Typical was the one in a corner of a carpenter's shop. Three classes sat together cheek by jowl, reciting by rote, while a buzz saw droned behind a thin partition.

Roads—paving the highway from Port-au-Prince to Cap Haitien will not stop farm land from being washed into the sea, Haiti's key problem.

Industries—the new plants, of minute importance in Haiti's economy, owe their birth to Estime's 1949 tax law.

Housing—Citie Magloire, a few hundred tiny but adequate units built near the airport, offers housing at rentals equal to an average worker's monthly pay.

Tourism—it is a big dollar earner.

Artibonite Valley—Former President Estime signed the agreement with the Export-Import Bank that started the project. It has not been destroyed, but Magloire did shut down a generator built by Estime.

My admiration for Haiti's noble people, who for a century and a half have waged a struggle for independence, has not been diminished by the excesses of M. Chauvet's government.

BERNARD D. NOSSITER
New York

Next Week

WALTER MILLIS discusses the significance of the celebrated "Braden case" for our civil liberties.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, reporting from Paris, tells what Europeans think about a Big Four conference.

GENE MARINE stands by as West Coast business men meet the atom and try to figure out what's in it for them.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 180, NUMBER 118
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1955

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Let's Negotiate to Talk

Washington appears ever ready to talk about negotiations, but never quite ready to negotiate about talks. The cantankerous remarks which greeted Chou En-lai's proposals for a tete-a-tete on the subject of Formosa is typical of the Administration's inability, or unwillingness, to adapt itself to the customary shifts in Communist policy. Granted that the Chinese Premier's offer was not everything that could be desired and was subject to as many reservations as a suspicious recipient could read into it. Nevertheless we have said not once but a thousand times that we want peace in the Formosa Strait, and here is an opportunity to find out whether such a peace is possible.

Almost alone among the politicians in Washington, Senator George saw the possibilities and urged that the Administration take advantage of them. To dismiss the Chinese suggestion as only a propaganda gesture is to assure that, as a gesture, it will succeed. Mr. Jaffe's article on the Bandung conference in this issue makes clear that in the view of the majority of Asian nations Chou went far along the path of reconciliation, and we will not enhance our prestige in the Orient by refusing to meet him part way.

Nor is it tactful—assuming we want peace—to lay down conditions for talks in the manner of a conqueror treating with a defeated enemy. No one has defeated China yet—not even the Seventh Fleet. Our national interest demands that if we talk to the Chinese we do so armed with the kind of political sophistication required in all international dealings. But it does not demand either arrogance or the kind of cynicism which, in the end, must inevitably insure failure.

The Arabs at Bandung

Ironically, the unanimous vote at Bandung in favor of the resolution supporting the Arab extremist position on Palestine demonstrates not the unity but the divisions among the Asian countries participating in the conference, as well as the cynical and opportunistic power politics which all of them are learning to play. Not a single nation, including those in the Arab bloc, can have been under any illusion that the status quo in the Middle East could be changed without the consent of Israel or, failing that, of a new war. In that sense, the resolution is meaningless.

The Moslem powers voted for it to give the illusion of Moslem unity; the non-Moslem powers as part of the wooing of their Moslem minorities and of the Moslem powers. For the Chinese Communists, here was a remarkable opportunity to retaliate against Israel, which, even though it recognized the Communist regime, voted for naming China as an aggressor in the 1951 resolution adopted by the United Nations. Peking also took the opportunity to reward the Arab nations, most of which abstained in the 1951 vote.

Even more important, the Communist espousal of the Arab cause at Bandung gave Chou En-lai a chance to show himself to the world as the defender of Arabian intransigence and thus to increase the Arab bloc's disaffection from the West.

Colonel Nasser, who maneuvered to bring about the resolution, surely has no illusions as to what would happen to his government if ever the Communists came into power in Egypt. But for him it was an opportunity both to reassert leadership in the Arab world and at the same time, by his flirtation with the Communists, to increase his bargaining power with the West.

Not as easily explained is India's vote. A country whose unique distinction has been its high moral attitudes will have to give the civilized world a more valid explanation for its support of a resolution which ignores historic facts and present realities to the detriment not simply of Israel but of peace in the Middle East. Carrying equal responsibility with India, though not a participant in the conference, is the United States. The failure of this country to insist upon a final settlement of the Palestine war and an effective solution of the Arab refugee problem, coupled with its recent blatant wooing of shaky Arab governments, has convinced the Arabs that through intransigence they can get everything they want from the State Department.

Tunisian Agreement

Details of the settlement reached by French Premier Edgar Faure and Tunisian Premier Zahar Ben-Ammar last week in Paris are not yet disclosed. The main provisions, however, indicate that a long step has been taken toward early home rule, and eventual independence if the Tunisians want it. The fact that Habib Bourguiba, leader of the nationalist Neo-Destour Party, was released from house-arrest to consult with M. Faure on the final terms and later approved the accord, is itself a guaranty that Tunisia won a substantial measure of freedom. French forces will still control a "security region" along the Libyan border and a French general will act as Defense Minister; the French High Com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 357

ARTICLES

Man of the Week:
Chou En-lai at Bandung
by Sam A. Jaffe 359

Echo of McCarthyism:
The French Press Under Fire
by Fred Clarke 360

Green Supremacy
by Buford Posey 361

Eccentric Titan:
McCormick of the Tribune
by Elmer Gertz 362

Art for Man's Sake:
A Minority View
By William Saroyan 364

Refuge of the Scholar:
The University Press
by Victor Reynolds 366

SPRING BOOKS

Homework for Mr. Dulles
by John Carter Vincent 368

Henri Matisse (a poem)
by Joseph Langland 369

"A Life of Allegory"
by Carlos Baker 372

Congressional Inquisitions
by Walter Millis 374

Facts Without Vision
by John Berger 376

Schoolmaster and Clergyman
by John Ciardi 378

New Books in Brief 380

THEATER and FILMS
by Robert Hatch 381

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 383

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 617
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 384

LETTERS opposite 357

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — Editor and Publisher
Carey McWilliams — Editorial Director
Lillie Shultz — Director, Nation Associates
Victor H. Bernstein — Managing Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo — Foreign Editor

Martin Solow — Assistant to the Publisher

Harold Clurman — Theater
B. H. Haggin — Music
Robert Hatch — Films
Gladys Whiteside — Copy Editor
Caroline Whiting — Assistant Literary Editor
Alfred Maund — Editorial Assistant
Mary Simon — Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, April 30, 1955, Volume 180, No. 18

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright, 1955, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Reentered as second class matter at the Post Office, Montgomery, Alabama. Printing Office 1603 Reuben Street

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1. **Change of Address:** Three weeks' notice is required for change of address which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

missioner will be Foreign Minister and serve as France's representative at Tunis. But other governmental powers, including judicial and police, will be turned over to Tunisians on a gradual basis, and the Cabinet will exercise full authority in most domestic matters.

What was decided about the rights of French and other European settlers is not entirely clear, except that they are to be "protected." It is certain that this issue will be hotly fought in the French press and eventually in the National Assembly which must ratify the agreement. In fact M. Faure showed considerable courage in pushing to a conclusion the negotiations started by his predecessor, for it was the proposal to end the protectorate over Tunisia that unseated Mendes-France. The interests of the settlers are powerfully represented in the Assembly and among the officials in charge of colonial affairs. Already bitter protests are being voiced by French leaders in Tunisia although M. Bourguiba, soon to return, predicts a peaceful change-over. Whether he is right or wrong, it seems pretty clear that another important fragment of empire faces early liquidation.

Elections in Italy

While Italy's Premier, Mario Scelba, was in Washington trying to arrange closer collaboration with the United States on international affairs, bigger American investments in Italian industries, and help in the construction of an atomic-energy plant for peacetime use, his opponents at home were taking political advantage of his absence. Once the Paris agreements were ratified, the opposition in Italy turned to other issues in its attempt to break the government coalition. One of these is the presidential election next month. It is still uncertain whether President Einaudi, who recently celebrated his eighty-first birthday, will offer himself for another seven-year term or withdraw from the fight. But in either case a new element has been injected into the pre-election maneuvering by Pietro Nenni, leader of the Left Socialists, who has suddenly put forward Ferruccio Parri as a presidential candidate.

Parri was the first Prime Minister of Italy after the war and, as Nenni well knows, has retained his great prestige as a man of ideals and integrity. Today he is the key figure in Unita Popolare, a small group created as the result of several splits among the Italian Socialists. It stands to the right of Nenni and to the left of Saragat. Nenni's promotion of the candidacy of Parri coincides with his appeal, made during the recent Socialist congress in Turin, for "conversations with the Catholics." Certain left-wing leaders of the Christian Democrats have been not wholly unreceptive to this overture. To them the idea of Parri as President, with the prospect of a more progressive government that could count on the support, if not the participation, of the Nenni Socialists is rather attractive. In any event the coming Italian presidential election may prove more lively and interesting than usual.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAN OF THE WEEK

Chou En-lai at Bandung . . *by Sam A. Jaffe*

Bandung, April 24 (by cable) IF Chiang Kai-shek is the perennial "man of the year" in the world of Mr. Luce, certainly Chou En-lai proved to be the "man of the week" in Bandung. His suggestion that the United States and China negotiate directly on Formosa startled all the delegates and delighted most of them. Even his last-minute warning that the Chinese people were reserving their "sovereign rights" to liberate the island failed to alter the feeling, shared by a majority of delegates, that a door to peace had been opened which Washington would find it difficult to ignore. Indeed some delegates were convinced, as they departed for their homes at the conference's close, that Washington knew before hand what Chou was going to say. It is interesting that only a few hours before the Chinese Premier spoke, a Pakistani delegate told me that a "Formosa development" was afoot which, he implied, had a measure of approval from both Washington and Peking.

BUT whether the proposal was the outcome of bilateral or multilateral plotting or was merely a unilateral effort on Peking's part, there can be no doubt of its propagandistic success. The effect was the more dramatic in that up to the time he made his announcement, Chou, soft-spoken and moderate on all other issues, had been adamant on this one. Through a series of private conferences he had maintained the position that Formosa belonged to Communist China, and Chiang Kai-shek was a bandit who must be divested of his stolen property.

This is not to say that Chou had everything his way here. The texts of the numerous general resolutions passed on the last day of the sessions contain words and phrases which doubtless irked him. By attaching the phrase "in all its manifestations" to the word "colonialism," the delegates reminded Chou that there are many nations which consider that the imperialist is not alone in holding people in bondage.

ON THE personal side, the most dramatic development of the conference was the rivalry between Nehru and Chou, each a candidate for the "leadership" of Asia. In the eyes of most observers Chou was the winner hands down. The Peking representative came here to make friends, and he proved successful despite the unexpectedly sharp attacks on Communist ideology which came from the West-orientated nations. His moderation in the face of Kotelawala's demand that Communist, as well as imperialist, colonialism be ended attracted widespread and favorable attention. Even the pro-Western Prince Wan of Thailand and General Romulo of the Philippines were impressed by this mild-mannered man who acted as if Afro-Asian unity were more important than anything else on the agenda. And his support of the Arab resolution on the Palestine question served him well in his courting of the Arab world.

Arab delegates, on the other hand, accused Nehru of trying—but failing—to split Moslem unity. They insist that he accomplished nothing by his courtship of Nasser of Egypt, who disagrees violently with the Indian Premier's views on both Kashmir and Palestine. They admit that Ali Mohammed of Pakistan, who led his country away from the Moslem bloc into the Western alliance, is a weak link in the Moslem chain. But even Ali, they say, cannot go too far to the West without endangering his position with his own people.

Chou En-lai made several private assurances that his country intends to help Asia to live in peace; there will be no attempts at "subversion," he has declared, and there will be no shooting. But he was very careful in all these private talks to make it clear that in his opinion the Formosa question is not an international one.

On the other hand Peking was able to reap some measure of good-will by its attitude toward the overseas Chinese, whom by tradition China has always claimed as its own. Chou has already signed an agreement with Dr. Sunarjo, Indonesian Foreign Minister, settling the long-standing problem of the "dual citizenship" of the 3,000,000 Chinese residents of Indonesia. While the terms of the agreement were not made public, it is believed that they established the right of the Chinese to opt either for Indonesian or Chinese citizenship. Similar agreements are under negotiation with Burma, Thailand, and other countries where Chinese minorities are large and their status a cause of continual friction. An agreement with Thailand, heretofore implacably anti-Communist, would be of special propaganda value to China in view of the doubts cast on the "coexistence" theory by many of the conference speakers.

THE conference was designed initially to lay the foundations for future agreements rather than to achieve them in a week's sitting. This it has succeeded in doing. The future will undoubtedly see constructive developments in the cultural and economic fields which will have important political effects in the coming years. The conference has been a success in that it has brought representatives of more than half the population of the world together—the half which, at one time or another, has been under the domination of Western imperialism—to discuss mutual problems. The Bandung conference will be followed by a second. A new dynamic world force is emerging from the jungles of Africa and the rice paddies of Asia.

SAM A. JAFFE is The Nation's *special correspondent at Bandung.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ECHO OF McCARTHYISM

The French Press Under Fire . . *by Fred Clarke*

Paris

TWENTY-FOUR hours after the ratification of the Paris agreements by the French Senate, Roger Stephane, copublisher of the left-wing weekly, *France-Observateur,* and one of its editors, was clapped into a military prison. He was charged with divulging in his newspaper information endangering the security of the state, and if convicted he is liable to up to ten years' imprisonment. Unless quashed, this case can give France a sinister McCarthyite look.

The incriminating articles, allegedly conveying inside information on the proceedings of the French National Defense Council concerning the Indo-China war, were published in *France-Observateur* on July 30, 1953, and on May 27, 1954. Gilles Martinet, the weekly's editor-in-chief, had been indicted but not arrested in December, 1954, and again in February, 1955, for printing in an article published November 26, 1953, a telegram from the French ambassador at London pertaining to British commitments in the now defunct European Defense Community and for revelations about Indo-China in an article printed on July 8, 1954. Claude Bourdet, another distinguished editor of the paper, is being threatened with libel proceedings for blasting as a "McCarthyite" M. Duval, the trial judge of the military tribunal which brought in the indictments.

The National Federation of the French Press has "indignantly protested against indictments which are not justified by any national interests and which directly violate the freedom of the press." The only discordant note has been sounded by the *Figaro,* which insists that freedom of the press does not give journalists the right "not to respect the secrets of national defense."

Now these secrets were not strictly speaking, carefully guarded, and the fault therefore was less that of the journalists who published them in the national interest, as they saw it, than of the government sources which allowed the leak. The country was divided top to bottom on *la sale guerre.* Governments favoring the prosecution of the war justified their failure to seek a truce by rosy reports of the military situation; the opposition in official positions, cooperating with courageous journalists, felt that the only way to stop a war that was draining the wealth and man-power of the nation was to reveal the truth. In doing so, they were merely confirming the many dispatches published in the French press by correspondents on the scene.

An examination of the various "leaks" makes this quite plain. On July 30, 1953, the military analyst of *France-Observateur* punctured the "victory" claims of the High Command in Laos by showing that the French advance had dangerously extended the lines of communication and supply. The subsequent defeat at Dienbienphu dramatically confirmed his analysis.

Concealing the scope of the defeat, M. Bidault, then Foreign Minister, intrigued at the Geneva conference for continuing and internationalizing the war. On May 27, 1954, Roger Stephane put a crimp in these plans by disclosing the facts of the catastrophe as reported to the Defense Council by three generals who had just completed an on-the-spot investigation. At about the same time a textual account of the report appeared in the pro-Mendes-France weekly *Express,* and an inside story of the same Defense Council meeting was published in a rightist Paris daily.

On July 18 Gilles Martinet disclosed that the army was urging the dispatch of two divisions of French regulars to Indo-China. Preparations were actually under way, but Mendes-France held them up in fear of a breakdown of the Geneva conference. Sending this contingent could not have rescued the French from their hopeless military situation, but it could have provided Dulles with a justification for the direct intervention of American troops. On the same day the Paris correspondent of the New York *Times* cabled the same information, adding military details lacking in Martinet's story.

DID these reports endanger the external security of the state as is charged—that is, provide the enemy with information as to military plans, troop dispositions, and the like. Nobody thought so at the time; otherwise the editors would have been prosecuted on the spot.

"Do you believe that betrayal in France caused the Dienbienphu disaster?" Lucien Bodard, *France-Soir* correspondent, asked French officers, from generals to privates, in Indo-China. The answer of a colonel is typical of what they all said: "What good is it to seek vain excuses for a defeat? We were beaten, that's all. I don't know whether there was treason in France, but if there actually was, I can assure you it had no consequences here in the sphere of battle. Why would the Vietminh have to get their intelligence in France? For eight years the enemy always knew what we were doing and what we were preparing." M. Temple, a former Minister of Defense, confirmed this. One of the articles, he said, did reveal defense secrets, but they could not have been utilized by the Vietminh army or have influenced the Geneva parley.

In view of the facts, the prosecution of the editors appears to be a political attack on a courageous journal. *France-Observateur* has too often stirred the wrath of the colonialists, who now in a changed political climate are demanding retribution. They have not forgotten that

FRED CLARKE is an American free-lance writer now in France.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this paper first exposed the gigantic piastre racket, which enriched French banking interests, or that it printed detailed accounts of the brutalities of the colonial administrations in North Africa. Even the judge has an ax to grind, for it was Martinet who, leading a committee of intellectuals, made him the laughing stock of Paris in 1952 for his "insurrectional" proceedings against Jacques Duclos. (The "carrier pigeon" discovered in the Communist leader's car on the scene of the anti-Ridgway demonstration turned out to be a dead bird he was bringing home for supper.)

The indictments against Stephane and Martinet mark a sharp turn away from the original purpose of the criminal investigation into the "scandal of the leaks," which broke last September. At that time a police commissioner, M. Dides, was caught red-handed with a copy of the minutes of the National Defense Council in his briefcase. This Dides, a shady character who had been in the Vichy police during the war, was a director of an international espionage network which held frequent meetings at the offices of Paix et Liberte, a government-subsidized anti-Communist propaganda agency. The sessions were attended by representatives of the Premier, Cabinet Ministers, and the Defense Council. On the evening before his arrest Dides had a dinner engagement with "an American colleague attached to the United States embassy," to use his own words.

The ostensible aim of the organization was to obtain anti-Communist intelligence, but its more important function was spying on political opponents of the regime in power. When Mendes-France became Premier, the bureau turned its attention to him, since he was suspected of "softness to communism." Information purporting to show the weakness and unreliability of the Mendes-France government was peddled by the bureau to the heads of government at the Brussels conference last August and helped cause the collapse of that conference. The Premier publicly expressed his indignation in Parliament and evidently intended to uncover the network in all its ramifications. But faced with the need of conciliating the right—which was deeply implicated—in order to get votes for the Paris agreements, his enthusiasm for the investigation began to wane. The right, on the other hand, seized on certain aspects of the inquiry that could be used against the Mendes-France government to kindle the lynch fever to overthrow it. A pathetic feature of the affair is that in the midst of this McCarthyite attack on him Mendes-France permitted the judicial inquiry to be turned against *France-Observateur*.

With the right now solidly intrenched in the government, the campaign to make "traitors" of those who opposed the Indo-China war—and possibly also those who fought German rearmament—can go far. *France-Observateur's* editors may be only the first victims. The tip-off seems to have been given in the conservative *Parisien Libere*. Feigning indignation that only journalists have been arrested in the "leak scandal," that paper has said pointedly: "However, it is quite evident that since the journalist is not in the first place the possessor of national-defense secrets, he can only be the accomplice of the one who betrayed. It would be better before arresting alleged accomplices to search for the real culprits." One of these "real culprits," marked out by the right in the stormy Assembly debates a few months ago, is apparently Francois Mitterand, Minister of Interior in the Mendes-France Cabinet.

Fortunately the left is not so weak, dispersed, and frightened as it was in the United States when the hunt for "culprits" who had "betrayed" national interests to the Chinese revolution preoccupied American political reaction.

Green Supremacy . . *by Buford W. Posey*

Philadelphia, Mississippi

PHILADELPHIA is a typical Mississippi rural community located in the red-clay hills of the east-central part of the state. It is the Neshoba County seat and also the official capital of the Choctaw Indian nation; there is a large Choctaw reservation nearby. About twenty-five years ago, when I was a boy, the white residents were always complaining because the federal government gave financial and other aid to those "sorry, stinking Indians," who were then considered as "low-down" as Negroes.

BUFORD POSEY is a life-long resident of Neshoba County, Mississippi.

But since 1930 or thereabouts, thanks to a smooth-talking gentleman named Odie Moore, the Indians are invariably referred to locally as "our noble red brethren," and they are most welcome in the community. Moore, a fast-talking chap with large ideas, convinced the white people in this area that the federal government had violated its 1839 treaty with the Choctaws—the Dancing Rabbit Treaty, it is called—and therefore owes the tribe many millions of dollars. If the local white people would only think about it, he said, they would realize that many of the early white settlers in the county had married Choctaws, which meant that most white people in the area had Indian blood in their veins and were therefore entitled to a share of the money. He avowed that the whole sum was ready and waiting in the Treasury in Washington; all that had to be done was for the Indians to file their claims and collect.

Times were hard here in 1930, as they were all over the country a year after the crash, and Moore thought it would be very unfair if the Choctaws got all the money and their poor white relatives nothing. To avert this injustice, he founded the Neshoba County Choctaw Indian Benefit Association. He invited everyone to join, declaring that he would personally see to it that every

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

member would receive $1,000 for each dollar contributed to the organization. He explained that he had to charge membership dues in order to defray the expenses of a trip he proposed to make through the country collecting the signatures of everyone who possessed Indian blood. In this way, he said, everyone entitled to a share of the money would receive it. And, he added, sooner or later he would have to go to Washington to arrange for the collection of the millions.

Neshoba County has a population of 25,000, and it seemed that most of the whites in it had Indian blood. Thousands of contributions poured in, and soon Moore became the wealthiest man in the county. One resident sold his large farm and gave Moore the entire proceeds. Many people bought especially large mail boxes to accommodate the money they expected, for Odie assured them that it would come in cash and probably by mail.

The years rolled by. I assume that Odie made his trip to Washington, but the money certainly never made the trip to Neshoba County. Nevertheless, Moore succeeded in convincing large numbers of people that payment was "just around the corner," and he continued to receive contributions for fifteen years until his death in 1945. The benefit association he founded has outlived him. Membership dues now are $100 a year, and many local whites still pay their dues regularly in the hope that "them folks in Washington will finally get honest and pay us the Indian money."

So far as this area is concerned, Indians are permitted to intermarry with whites in direct and specific violation of the white-supremacy laws of the state of Mississippi.

THE members of the Burnside family were born, lived, and died in the nearby community of Burnside, named after them. It is common knowledge that the mother of the last generation of Burnsides was once a mulatto slave. But the white people chose to ignore that fact, for the Burnsides owned a sawmill which gave employment to many whites. After all, jobs are very scarce in Neshoba County. The esteem in which the family was held was symbolized by the fact that Sim Burnside, the leader of the clan, was always addressed as "Mr. Sim."

Sim, the last of the Burnsides, died in December, leaving a will which stipulated that his $250,000 estate be used to establish a wildlife preserve. Soon afterward a group of twenty-five respected white residents of the county, claiming to be Sim's second cousins, petitioned the court to set aside the will on the ground that the testator had been ill at the time he made it and had been unduly influenced by the people he named as executors. The court, after a lengthy trial, ruled in favor of the twenty-five white petitioners. But the case is not yet settled, for now eight Negroes, asserting that they are *first* cousins of Sim, have filed suit to claim the estate for themselves.

NESHOBA COUNTY was a stronghold of the late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, perhaps the most extreme racist of the modern South. But I suppose when a man sees the flicker of a greenback in the corner of his eye, all other colors disappear. Sometimes I wonder what would happen if the federal government suddenly decided to compensate the present generation of Negroes for the fact that their ancestors had been held in slavery. How many white people would suddenly remember that the white slave owner often went to bed with one or another of his female slaves? It is just possible that with the expenditure of a couple of billions of dollars the government could solve the whole race problem in the United States.

ECCENTRIC TITAN

McCormick of the Tribune . . . *by Elmer Gertz*

Chicago

AT THE memorial services the preacher said: "You and I will perchance live many long days and many long nights before we meet the equal of Robert Rutherford McCormick." His judgment of the Chicago *Tribune's* famous publisher was probably right but for different reasons from those he had in mind. Even the obituary columns of the *Tribune* itself dwelt upon the Colonel's eccentricities, recalling with pride the time when he removed one of the stars from the flag in the Tribune Tower by way of demonstrating that he had read New Deal Rhode Island out of the Union.

A few weeks before his death the Colonel and his Wheaton pastor, the Reverend Robert Bowman Stewart, were sitting in front of the fireplace at his Boynton Beach home in Florida. The Colonel was in a nostalgic mood and spoke of the psychological struggles and personal difficulties of his childhood. Then he turned to the clergyman and said, "Did you ever know my brother?" (He referred to Medill McCormick, Representative and later Senator from Illinois.) "He was brilliant," he added, and repeated with emphasis, "He had a brilliant mind." Then, staring into the fireplace, he said with regretful simplicity, "I was never brilliant."

That is the life tragedy of Colonel McCormick in a few words, as recorded by a sensitive friend. Years

ELMER GERTZ, a Chicago lawyer and a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is completing a history of the Chicago* Tribune.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ago I asked his classmates and masters at Groton, even to old Endicott Peabody himself, what they remembered about McCormick and his cousin, Joseph Medill Patterson. Young Patterson had impressed them as strong-willed and brilliant, a boy with character and a future. But their recollections of McCormick were slight, blurred, indefinite. He was a nice, shy boy who made no particular impression.

THE Colonel was like a myopic man with thick dark glasses and a headache looking at the world on a cloudy and cheerless night. Everyone appeared sinister to him—the farther away they were the more evil, although many right under his eyes had a dark aspect, too. Anyone who questioned his beliefs was a traitor or a fool. It is easy to understand why such a man could say, "Anyone who speaks up for the United Nations is obviously either a Communist or misinformed." No one in Hollywood or New York City could be a decent, patriotic American. Virtue was confined to the Middle West.

He remained to the end a shy man who tried to hide his fear of society by exaggerated masculinity in the form of soldiering and polo playing. He was sure only of his own solid virtues. Mr. Stewart once said to him, "Are you ready to stand up and be counted as a Christian?" And the Colonel replied with his customary directness, "Tell me what I must do and where I must be and I shall be there." When he died the one hymn sung at the funeral service, by his command, was Onward Christian Soldiers, and he was buried in his World War I uniform while the rifles of soldiers from his old outfit gave a final salute.

From early manhood almost to the end McCormick made many speeches, and all of them required a great effort of will. He spoke only because he felt that it was his duty to do so. He was never at ease on a platform or before a microphone. The dulness of his delivery was lightened only by his extravagance of thought or quaintness of language. His writing had the same defects. The famous editorials were composed by his subordinates.

It used to be said that McCormick and Patterson loathed each other

Robert Rutherford McCormick

and that Patterson started a new paper, the New York *Daily News*, so that they might be separated by a thousand miles. But in what he called copy "No. 1" of his book, "The Army of 1918," McCormick wrote: "To my best friend, Joe Patterson. Robert R. McCormick." True the two men had different temperaments. Patterson was a radical who receded to a New Dealish attitude before embracing ultimately his own peculiar form of reaction; McCormick was more consistently conservative. If McCormick aided Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive Party in the 1912 Presidential election, it was not because of any real belief in its tenets but because his brother, who nursed high political ambitions, was active in it.

But even in the pre-New Deal days McCormick inveighed against the high cost of government. Despite his marked paternalism toward his employees, which sometimes reached heights of generosity, he was utterly opposed to all forms of public aid or social legislation. He opposed "the post office, waterworks, farm boards, and other self-liquidating ventures into socialism." He declared categorically that "no government enterprise has ever been conducted without financial support extorted from private taxpayers." Overtaxation, he said, could only bring "the slavery, squalor, misery, and pestilence" of the Dark Ages or of Russia. He had excellent relations with the unions in his own shops but abhorred trade unions in general. He feared all who rebelled against the lords and masters of the respectable past and wanted to build brave new worlds of their own.

Hating all that Franklin D. Roosevelt stood for, McCormick was nevertheless one of the truly great fighters for the freedom of the press. He accumulated through the years a comprehensive library of material on the press which he read like a religious devotee. He employed the ablest attorneys in the country in the Near case and other legal battles to establish the rights of newspapers. At the same time he generally supported repressive legislation and court decisions directed against those whom he styled Communists. He never uttered a word against the witch hunts of our day and was perhaps the most ardent journalistic partisan of McCarthy, whatever he thought of him in private.

It was fashionable in McCormick's day to say that *Tribune* support for a candidate was the kiss of death. This was hardly true. The *Tribune* was a right-wing Republican voice in a Democratic town, but it had an effective veto in Republican councils—no Republican in Cook County could get anywhere without the Colonel's blessing. And Edward J. Kelly was not the only Democrat who owed his rise to power to McCormick.

Some have minimized the talents of McCormick, asserting that he had little to do with the success of his newspaper empire except in choosing good lieutenants. They say that it was James Keeley who in the years before World War I initiated the policies and features which gave the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tribune its preeminence—the service columns of legal, medical, household, beauty, financial, and other advice and the thorough, imaginative news coverage. In Keeley's day, however, the *Tribune's* circulation never went beyond 200,000. Only after first Patterson and McCormick and then McCormick alone took control did it soar sensationally to the million mark.

McCormick shrewdly recognized that the even-tempered editorials published under Keeley were deadly dull. He introduced the extravagant note and made each page, in effect, a shrill editorial. This angered or amused people and gained readers. He was also responsible for the typographical richness of the paper, the promotion stunts, the acquisition of giant paper mills, the great building program, the business efficiency. His ability cannot be gainsaid even if he was a bizarre personality easily caricatured as Colonel McCosmic.

WHAT is to become of his empire? He left no children and few relatives in the Medill line. Joseph Medill and his descendants—the McCormicks and Pattersons—owned a controlling share of the stock of the parent company, but large blocks are in the hands of the Lloyds, the Cowles family, and others. When the McCormick-Patterson trust expires in 1975 and McCormick's share goes to charitable organizations as provided in his will, there are bound to be epochal changes; the Medill-McCormick-Patterson blood may no longer control. But what of the intervening twenty years, which will undoubtedly see great political, social, and scientific developments? Will the *Tribune,* as it has done throughout its history of more than a century, play a dominant role?

Under the McCormick will, four individuals who were closely associated with him in the management of the *Tribune* properties for a quarter of a century, together with his niece, Mrs. Ruth McCormick Tankersley, control the Colonel's stock; and the will expresses the pious hope that the niece's son will participate in due course. These people are all nurtured in the McCormick tradition and are all as conservative as the Colonel was without being as eccentric. Behind them is Chicago's most powerful law firm—Kirkland, Fleming, Green, Martin, and Ellis. Weymouth Kirkland, pronounced by the Colonel's niece to be the greatest lawyer in the country, fought alongside of the Colonel in the famous Henry Ford libel suit, the proceedings against Big Bill Thompson and his henchmen, and the freedom-of-the-press cases.

For the present the paper will follow the course set by McCormick, but a more reasonable tone can already be detected. The Keeley error of moderation may be repeated, and other Chicago newspapers are hot on the trail. The *Tribune* has lost circulation in recent years, while the *News* and *Sun-Times* have been gaining. Still, several days after the Colonel's death enough of his bite remained for the *Tribune* to print in its Voice of the People columns a letter from a German returning to his own country who, after asking to have the *Tribune* sent on to him, gave some advice to Americans:

> We Germans remember too well Nuremberg and the infamous, immature behavior of the American occupation army. . . . As you are three-quarters peasants from Italy, Poland, or Russia itself, where do you get the idea you are the whole world? Your blood lines are horrible to contemplate. You are cowardly swine afraid of everything under the sun.

It will be duller in Chicago when such extravagances are omitted from the columns of the Colonel's paper.

ART FOR MAN'S SAKE

A Minority View . . *by William Saroyan*

I HAVE been thinking for some time about theatrical art in general and musical comedy in particular. What are they? What ought they to be?

The end result of my thinking is that I consider a "system" or "philosophy" of theatrical art useless and possibly mischievous, although it can give the untalented a momentary feeling of security. (Security on the stage, in their work? No, just in themselves, at home, or in the street.)

This brings up the whole matter of theatrical systems and techniques, which to this day are being followed from longer than fifty years ago. In fact, the most skilled players have been schooled in one or another of the old systems. Anything wrong with the systems?

Yes. A system may very well make an *order* of effectiveness inevitable, but it is here that the mischief begins. The order may very well be undesirable, as I think the order of most current theatrical and film effectiveness is undesirable—in that it is unimaginative, repetitious, and in a deep sense both meaningless and destructive.

Let us take, for instance, the film that is supposed to be the best of the earnest films of last year, "On the Waterfront." This is a bad film, and yet it gives an impression of being good. Effectiveness *is* achieved, but it is an artificial, not artful, effectiveness in that the fable pretends to be real, or even super-real—done right on the waterfront itself, for instance. The result is that there is neither fable nor truth, even though all performances may be considered skilled, and one or two touched by greatness, or comparative superiority.

WILLIAM SAROYAN is the author of the successful play "The Time of Your Life" and of many novels and short stories.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

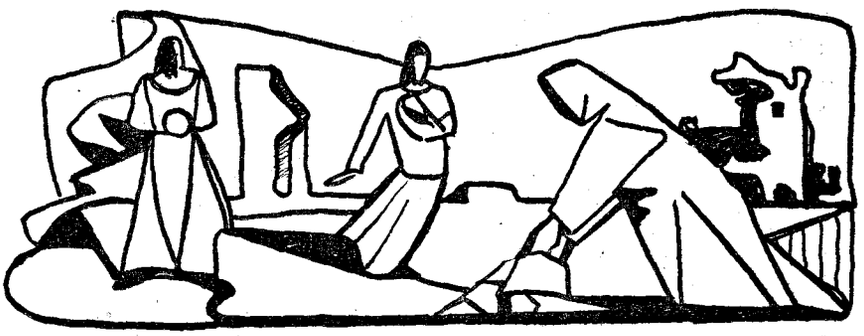
But what is the film saying, in any language? It is saying the names of those who are connected with it. The unanimity of the "voting" in favor of the film has some sort of meaning, I suppose, but not much. Now, even Chaplin's effectiveness has grown unsatisfactory with time, but if you want to get a relative idea about what such a fable might have been, just impose Chaplin's system or technique on the story. The purposeless "heaviness" of everything is supplanted by speed and wit. The almost embarrassing emotionality is thrust aside by an order of sentiment which is still pretty much universal, if by now useless.

Or to get closer to the form of the musical, let us take "The Saint of Bleecker Street," also unanimously acclaimed, and also bad, both in choice and in use of material. What is this work saying? For all its involvement in various things, it is saying the name of the composer—which is the point that now needs to be made.

All of Shakespeare says Shakespeare with an effectiveness which has become intrenched, but which may not necessarily be the end of the life of effectiveness—or to put it another way, the only order of effectiveness.

What is the precise order of Shakespeare's effectiveness? Out of basic passions and preoccupations—out of elemental plots in the tragedies, and tricky plots in the comedies, and fairly narrative plots in the histories—come first an order of usage of English which remains irresistible in spite of the fact that it is overloaded with vast amounts of word-jingling for its own sake, and second a satisfying, or fairly satisfying, order of resolution, or conclusiveness.

Hamlet is mad. Hamlet demonstrates how being mad is not entirely just that, how it is almost always also being brilliant, wise, gentle, vicious, gallant, amusing, stupid, and all the other things any great man who is *not* mad might very well be. Hamlet lays about him wildly and eloquently and foolishly, drives others mad, kills them, is killed, and ends by again saying Shakespeare, or the writer who can do anything—a little better or a little more unaccountably (greatly?) than anybody else writing before or after him. The name



Shakespeare is the name of his humanity and genius, or his view of the world and time, and human life on and in them. But is Shakespeare's dramatic effectiveness the ultimate of the potential of effectiveness? It is not. Whose is? Nobody's, at the moment, but, then, Shakespeare's rivals haven't worked very well or very hard.

WHAT do we want art to do? What is it for? Until we consider these questions, we are apt to be carried away by the useless and repetitious in art. We want art to impel human life toward the achievement of its best potential, which is—what? To thrive, in all of the implications and dimensions of that condition. To thrive with love, zest, and humor, and to endure pain and the meaninglessness of life and death with grace and humility. In short, to be, if not great, at least a little less small than a creature with intellect and memory ought to be.

Excitement is the d e v i c e—or "gimmick," to use a currently popular term—of drama, and this is the source of the mischief. But is it possible to convey the tragic nature of human life without the use of excitement? It isn't easy, but it *is* possible, and the challenge of doing so, or of trying to do so, is becoming greater every day with the logical carrying-through of the principle of excitement in the time of nuclear discoveries. If the effectiveness of art is to continue to lie in human excitement, how can the destructive use of such discoveries be avoided? And if art achieves effectiveness in calm and in intelligence, how can the nuclear discoveries not reject the relationship to weapon? If the human soul is an idiot's, and human brilliance and power are a maniac's, how can the human race get to heaven, so to put it? The nuclear weapon was used against the human race in Shakespeare's finest tragedies. The contemporary dramatist, or artist of any kind, has the responsibility of transforming weapon into worker—in everything he creates. The collective intelligence of the nuclear men has to be matched by the collective humanity (love) of the fable men—the writers and artists. To report chaos and hate is not to put order into chaos or to banish hate. The potentials for order and love are inherent in human life and just as easy to achieve as their opposites—and certainly a lot more practical, if nothing else.

How do you do it? You do it by trying to do it, and failing, most likely, and then trying again. One of Joyce's basic principles has gone a little too unnoticed, I think: that he would not permit himself to use material that might achieve effectiveness because it happened to be violent. Was this a criticism of most of Shakespeare's work? A rejection of almost all dramatic, and much literary, effectiveness? Yes, t h a t would seem so. If you're going to have murder and madness in art, then you're going to have them in life, too.

But isn't it the other way around? Yes, that is the theory all right, but somebody goofed there. It doesn't matter that real men and women go, or are driven, mad, and that they kill one another. With compassion for them, they just don't happen to be the means by which to measure or by which to improve the nature of the survivors—and art and everything else are always concerned with the survivors. The dead, whoever they are, cease to be anybody's concern the minute they are dead.

I have a short play called "Hello Out There" which I permitted my-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

self to write out of violent material. It was the easiest play I ever wrote. Everything was exciting at the outset, and there was very little real work for me to do. I therefore consider the play worthless, if not in fact a mistake, the high opinion of others notwithstanding. As a writer, as a dramatist, I simply do not believe I have the right to identify human beings as the enemies of human beings. Is there any enemy at all? Is time an enemy? Nature? Change? Loss? Failure? Pain? Death? Not in my thinking. All things, including pain and death, are friends, if for no other reason than that they exist, and the friendship of them must be discovered, measured, understood, and cherished.

WHAT is the purpose of a musical, since I began a moment ago by being concerned about that? It is the same as the purpose of all art—to impel or encourage the human being to thrive pleasantly, humbly, with valor if possible, without fear or hate, and with humor and grace. That's quite a lot to try to do with a jazz band and dancing girls, but it can be done. The comedian will help, if only somebody will write a truly great comic role, to be performed, for instance, by one or another of our wonderful clowns: Durante, Savo, Groucho Marx, Gleason, Jack Benny, Joe E. Lewis, Berle, Gobel, *et al.* Or do they just have to go right on making all that money they keep making, as if they knew why?

It's a problem. It's part of the overall problem. You can be very effective if you are willing to be meaninglessly so, as almost all of our art is. But the time has come to be damned thoughtful for a moment, and then to be effective the hard way—for better reasons than fame and box office.

REFUGE OF THE SCHOLAR

The University Press . . *by Victor Reynolds*

THE function of a university press, according to one experienced university publisher, is to issue just as many books as possible—short of bankruptcy. This seems to describe the financial angle fairly well. When it is added that the books should be works of merit, and primarily scholarly books, the necessary points have been made. The Association of American University Presses, with forty-six members in the United States and Canada, has put the whole matter clearly:

> There is general agreement . . . that the primary functions of a university press are to publish the results of research and scholarship for the benefit of other scholars and to publish readable, authentic interpretations of such scholarship for the layman. Some university presses add a third responsibility—the publishing of books which interpret the culture and history of their particular regions of the country.

University publishing in America had its eighty-fifth anniversary last year. Andrew D. White, first president of Cornell, established the first university press in America in 1869, one year after the opening of the new college at Ithaca, New York, that gave equal standing to the applied arts alongside the traditional disciplines of the liberal arts. But printing had begun at Oxford fifteen years before Columbus discovered America and at Cambridge early in the sixteenth century. Presses at both English universities seem to have been officially established toward the end of the sixteenth century. When the privilege of printing the Bible and the Prayer Book was granted to Oxford and Cambridge about a hundred years later, a subvention was provided that is not likely ever to be surpassed.

Cornell's example was soon followed by Johns Hopkins, Chicago, and Columbia, and within fifty years thirteen presses had been established, though three were unable to stay in continuous operation. Between 1919 and 1945 the number grew rapidly, and today there are university presses in twenty-five states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Canada.

In 1953 the book publishers of the United States issued about 12,000 new titles, including new editions, and of this number the university presses were responsible for approximately 1,200, or 10 per cent. Since the commercial publishers are all eager for business, it may be reasonable to wonder why the universities have entered the field. Here, again, the Association of American University Presses is on record with the answer:

> Scholarship has, in recent decades, become more and more specialized. The fruits of that scholarship, in published form, are likewise specialized, but none the less essential for the progress of civilization. By their very specialization, these books can command only a relatively small sale in the American publishing scene today.
>
> At the same time, rising costs have increased the minimum number of copies that a publisher must sell in order to obtain a profit on the publication of any book. Thus circumstances have forced the scholarly book largely into the nonprofit or deficit category, and the commercial publisher cannot afford to underwrite books of this nature. . . .
>
> Not all of the books published by university presses come out in the red, of course. . . . But the decision to publish a book, as determined at a university press, is based on scholarly merit and usefulness, not on possible profit.

There seems to be no good reason for the commercial publisher and the university presses to be concerned about possible competition

VICTOR REYNOLDS has been head of the Cornell University Press since 1943.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between them. Though the former issue many titles that are genuinely informative, they pay more attention to packaging and to quantity sales. Of course a university press is lucky to get a book that even nudges the best-seller list. The paper-backs, with their incredible growth since the late nineteen thirties, are not apt to be paralleled in the catalogues of university presses. In fact, if present practices are continued, no conflict seems likely.

THE books issued by university presses cover the range of human knowledge. Of the 1,200 published in 1953, about half were in the humanities, one-third in the social sciences, and one-sixth in the sciences. In the humanities one might name as representative titles "Power in Buildings: An Artist's View of Contemporary Architecture," by Hugh Ferriss (Columbia), "The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire," by Rene Grousset (California), and "The New England Mind: From Colony to Province," by Perry Miller (Harvard); in the social sciences "The Economic Development of Mexico," published for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Johns Hopkins), "Europe and the United States in the World Economy," by Robert Marjolin (Duke), and "America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941," by Wayne S. Cole (Wisconsin). Typical titles in the sciences could be "Historical Development of Inclusion Thermometry," by F. G. Smith (Toronto), "Physiological Foundations of Neurology and Psychiatry," by Ernst Gellhorn, M. D. (Minnesota), and "Free and Unequal: The Biological Basis of Individual Liberty," by Roger J. Williams (Texas).

In developing a suitable book-publishing program a university press must give some attention to a balanced effort, but eventually the list of a particular press is almost certain to represent the interests of the parent institution. It has been suggested that the faculty of the university may be expected to provide manuscripts for at least a third of the books published, and it is true that colleges or universities of consequence will keep the university press more than busy.

The presses at Chicago, Columbia, and Harvard are among the largest in America in both volume of business and number of new titles published each year. Next come those at the University of California, Princeton, and Yale. Three of the newest are at Indiana University, the University of Hawaii, and Notre Dame. Yale maintains a series devoted to the work of the younger American poets, and Indiana also puts some emphasis on poetry. Hawaii naturally is particularly aware of the history, problems, and accomplishments of the Pacific area, an interest shared by California, Washington, and Stanford. Fiction is generally scarce among university-press titles, but the relatively young press at Michigan State College wishes to introduce to America established writers from other lands and has already made available three or four novels by R. K. Narayan of India. Princeton has given considerable attention to informative works on the Middle East.

BOOKS that have been manufactured and put in stock must be distributed. Some of the problems of distribution can be met through organized cooperation. The association maintains an Educational Directory, that is, a large mailing list of scholars, libraries, and administrators, under the supervision of the University of Chicago Press. Cooperative exhibits of university-press books, supervised by Yale University Press, are presented at meetings of learned societies. A monthly bulletin of all titles published by member presses is compiled for the association by the Cornell University Press and mailed to college, university, and the larger public libraries, as well as to individuals who request that their names be put on the mailing list. In addition, selected and annotated lists of books in the humanities, social sciences, and sciences are prepared and distributed twice a year for the association by the University of Illinois Press. These lists go to about 200,000 scholars and interested readers in America and other parts of the world. The various presses are also making a cooperative effort to sell their product to general bookstores and to advertise it in a way that will attract the intelligent layman.

The general interests of university presses are looked out for through the committees of the association. Of these, the recently appointed special committee on the freedom to publish has to be particularly alert. University presses are not inclined to neglect a book because it is controversial, but the chairman of the freedom-to-publish committee reported at the association's last annual meeting that no member's freedom to publish had been curtailed during the first year of the committee's existence. University publishers have a vivid sense of their responsibilities and of the public interest. The series of volumes from Cornell on civil liberties and civil rights and Harry S. Ashmore's recently published "The Negro and the Schools," with a foreword by Owen J. Roberts, from the University of North Carolina Press, are representative of sincere efforts in lively areas.

The particular contribution of the university press is readily granted, but it is appropriate now and then to have a summing up. This was admirably supplied by the publisher to the University of Oxford when he spoke in America not long ago:

> What is the task of a university press? I should say it is to conserve what is best in the literature of all nations, to produce the best scholarship in all fields, to distinguish between the ripples and waves of popular taste, and to discern what is lasting. Like good men, good publishers should know that the fashions of this world pass rapidly away, and they must needs occupy themselves—somewhat, at least—with the abiding.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPRING BOOKS

Homework for Mr. Dulles . . *by John Carter Vincent*

[*John Carter Vincent served in the United States Foreign Service for twenty-eight years, half of them in China. From Changsha and Hankow he watched Chiang Kai-shek's triumphant march northward in 1926-27; from Nanking he watched Chiang consolidate his military and political position; from Mukden and Dairen, 1931 to 1935, he watched the Japanese take Manchuria and begin the absorption of North China; from Chungking, during the Sino-Japanese war, he watched and warned against the Nationalist government's gradual loss of popular support.*

Called back from China, Mr. Vincent spent eight years off and on in Washington at the Far Eastern desk of the State Department; in 1945-47 he was director of the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs. "In 1945," he says, "I warned that Japan would be out of the war six months after Germany's defeat and all but wept over the Far East provisions of the Yalta agreement; and in 1946 I hoped, prayed, and despaired that the Marshall mission to China could prevent the civil war that brought disaster to the country."]

WANTED: AN ASIAN POLICY. By Edwin O. Reischauer. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.75.

IN THE autumn of 1945 a young professor who had done his stint in the army and a short tour in the Department of State was offered the position of Deputy Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs (the current title is Deputy Assistant Secretary). Professor Reischauer indicated politely but firmly that he intended to remain in the academic atmosphere of Harvard, to which he had just returned.

The State Department's loss was Harvard's gain; but it is interesting to speculate, in view of the title and contents of his new book, what might have happened had he assumed the task of helping "direct" Far Eastern affairs in the crucial years that followed the Japanese surrender. Such speculation acquires special piquancy from the fact that Mr. Reischauer is almost uniformly critical of policy on the Far East during those years, and he is almost uniformly right.

We did "absolutely and literally nothing," he says, to prepare during the war years for the fact that "a feeble and chaotic Korea would be a weak spot in the post-war order." We did try after the war was over to unite Korea under a trusteeship but failed because of Soviet intransigence. We did draw up during the winter of 1946-47 a comprehensive plan for the expenditure of a half-billion dollars in South Korea on economic and defense projects to prove to the Communists that we meant business, but this plan, after receiving White House approval, was not submitted to the Congress because the President, who was suddenly faced that spring (1947) with the Greek crisis, felt that the Congress would not vote funds for both Korean and Greek-Turkish aid and believed that the latter was the more important. Also it was in those days that the Secretary of War and his advisers were trying, because of Congressional cuts in appropriations, to figure some way of getting out of Korea "gracefully." Policy, needless to say, is not made in ivory towers; it is more often than not the somewhat mangled outcome of opposing opinions and interests.

Indo-China and Indonesia presented particularly acute problems as the war closed. The reviewer can confirm with feeling that "government officials who dealt primarily with Asia tended to advocate a clear-cut American stand in favor of Indonesian independence" (and a trusteeship for Indo-China), "but were overruled by the preponderant number of officials who looked primarily toward Europe and felt that we should do nothing which would irritate the Dutch" (or offend French prestige). Indonesia of course gained its independence, after some unnecessary turmoil, and Indo-China has fallen into a divided state of uneasy independence and Communist domination; but the immediate post-war passion in some American quarters for the status quo in Southeast Asia must be held largely accountable for the trail of distrust, disorders, and disasters which has characterized subsequent developments in that area. And yet even as late as 1953 the present reviewer was rapped over the knuckles by the late Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada for having stated in a speech in 1946 that support of the status quo in the Far East would not bring stability to that area and furthermore that it would be an error to rely on China as *the* stabilizing force in the western Pacific. This latter statement was interpreted by the Senator's committee as showing a lack of "loyalty" to Chiang Kai-shek. Now Professor Reischauer cites our early attempts to make China the stabilizing force in the Far East as one of our major post-war policy errors.

ON THE widely and none too wisely debated question of who or what lost China, Mr. Reischauer somewhat uncritically describes the defeat of the Chinese Nationalists as "our clearest policy defeat in recent years" and continues: "It is hard to find a historical parallel to the defeat we suffered in China." Perhaps Mussolini's Fascist brigandage in Italy, Hitler's Nazi perversion of Germany, and more recently the subversion of Czechoslovakia to communism are not historical parallels because no responsible person has thought to attribute these noteworthy departures from democracy to the shortcomings of our foreign policy. True,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we did try to save China, but the author is "appalled" at how wrong most of our civilian and military officials were "about what would or could happen in China," and charitably adds that it would be "a mistake to attribute the Communist triumph in China primarily to what Americans did or did not do." Later, the professor becomes more historical-minded, in his discussion of Communism and Democracy, and leaves one with the distinct impression that it was the early failure of Chiang's Kuomintang to give to China a type of democracy and government suited to national needs and aspirations which caused the final swing to communism.

The reviewer, less historical-minded, thought there was still some chance in 1944 of preventing a collapse of the Kuomintang through reform, until General (Ambassador) Patrick J. Hurley appeared on the scene as a veritable Oklahoma bull in a China shop; and that there was still a desperate hope in late 1945 when General Marshall undertook to forestall civil war and a probable Nationalist defeat. But it was Chiang's determination to proceed with the elimination of the Communists before consolidating his own political, economic, and military position that wrecked any chance of "saving" China, short of shipping American divisions out to fight the war, which neither the American public nor the Congress would have tolerated.

In 1947 Chiang in his New Year's address to the people boldly declared that he "would eliminate communism from China as a military threat in five months and as an ideological threat in five years." Two years later, one year before the final defeat of the Nationalist armies, Chiang transferred "what liquid assets the government possessed" and "ample stocks of munitions" to Formosa (Ambassador Leighton Stuart: "Fifty Years in China") while on the mainland Nationalist troops were deserting en masse because of lack of pay and ammunition. Dr. Stuart comments somewhat naively that Chiang made the transfer to show "his determination to fight communism to the end"!

In his chapter entitled The Chinese Puzzle, Professor Reischauer has little new to add to current thinking about China, but what he says is much to the point: Chiang's ability to reconquer China is "a mere will-o'-the-wisp"; Formosa is the logical place for "a clear demonstration that democracy can be a practical and desirable system" for Asia, including China; economic and military "pressures" on the Peking government are not likely to be effective; and serious thought should be given "to the reestablishment of normal diplomatic relations with the Chinese instead of shying away from this possibility in unthinking horror." If we can develop the self-control "to keep our mouths shut at times and to sit on our hands," he foresees a probable line of division "between the proud Chinese and the domineering Russians," whom the Chinese have traditionally regarded as *ta pi tzu* (big noses). Here is the only place that I would raise even a tentative question as to the professor's scholarship. In the Chinese streets in which I circulated, the term *ta pi tzu* was applied indiscriminately to Westerners, but in North China and Manchuria the Russians, also without too much discrimination, were generally greeted with the epithet *hung hu tzu* (red-beard bandit). The *hung hu tzus* will get you if you don't watch out seemed to be a common fear among Chinese children. There may be a measure of hope for a survival of this feeling even in Communist China.

Professor Reischauer is at his scholarly best in his analysis of The Situation in Asia, and some Western misconceptions concerning it. From the politico-economic viewpoint, it is primarily time which separates the East from the West, or more precisely the timing of the impact of the machine age on political and social institutions. As Asia progresses slowly toward industrialization many of the differences which now seem to distinguish it from the West will lose significance. Furthermore, what we are prone to call the influence of the West on Asia might be more accurately defined, the author points out, as the impact of the age of machine production on Asia, and what we have considered a uniquely Asian problem may be merely a retarded "Asian version of a world-wide phenomenon." The lazy Western tendency to regard all

Henri Matisse

Discrimination through pure color
is one sure way to shock
new admirations from the universal heart.

Anaphoras of sound, another.
Or poised angular lines
circling upon the dancing of their own rhythms.

If blue ladies sleep on a green couch
in a green room, dreaming
beyond yellow roses and pink blinds to the clear

blue Mediterranean, dreaming
as far as eyes can dream
beyond those bedroom windows, then one red petal

flicks upon the mirrors of the sea,
a floating miracle
flaming upon that subtle and watery world.

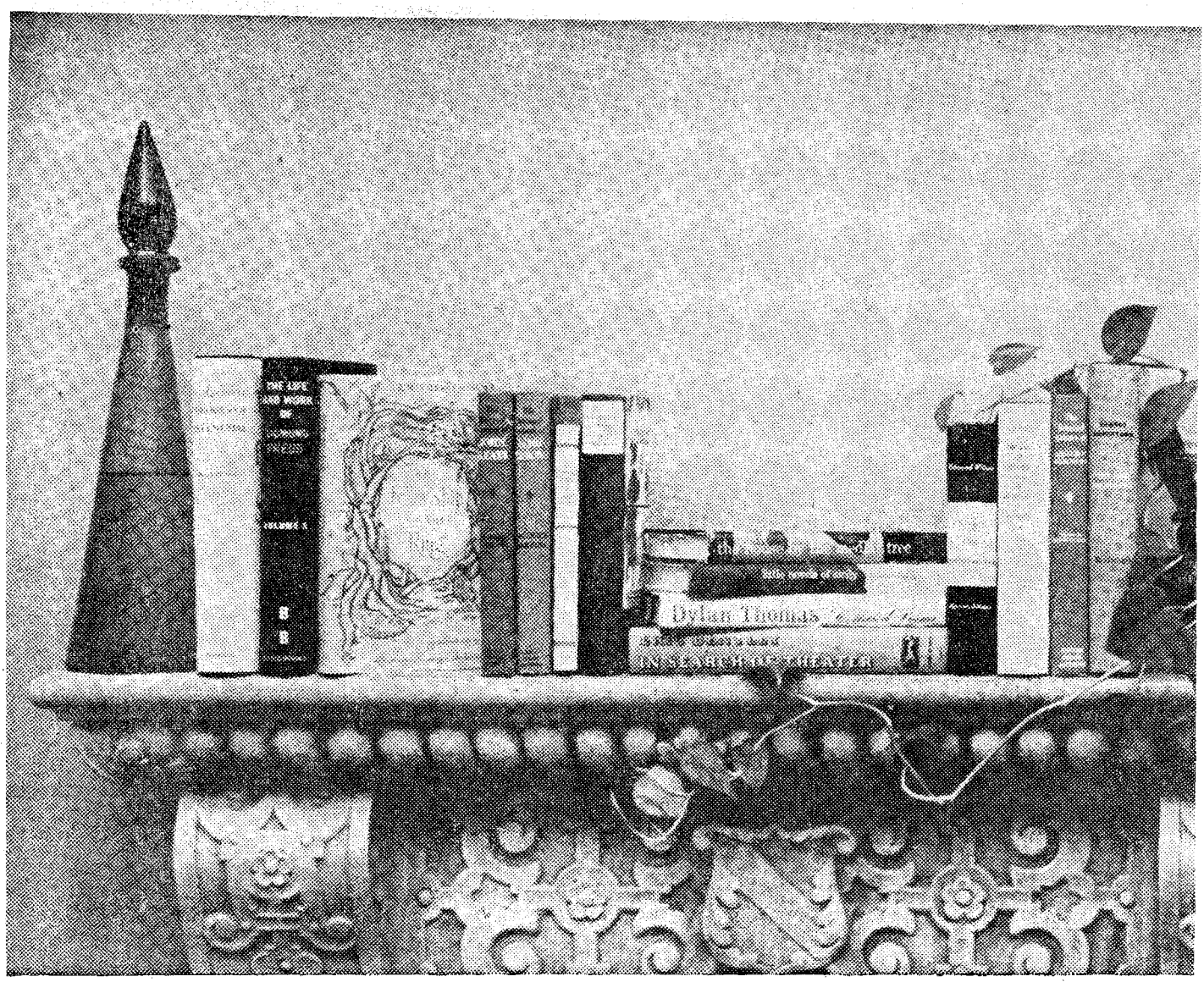
And all clear! We were, you know, in dreams:
blue ladies somnolent,
yellow roses in vases silent as roses. . .

and then, ah! Monsieur Henri Matisse
looked at his world and said,
how lonely, and in his own image created

the green ennui of Eden, mild blue
skies, and sleeping ladies
arousing their blue heads under his apple boughs.

JOSEPH LANGLAND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Choose any 3 book

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIGMUND FREUD by Ernest Jones—"One of the outstanding biographies of the age."
List Price $6.75 —New York Times

THE OPPOSING SELF by Lionel Trilling—"Perhaps the most outstanding of the general American critics today."
List Price $3.50 —London Times Literary Supplement

SELECTED LETTERS OF JOHN KEATS, edited with introduction by Lionel Trilling and *Selected Letters of Lord Byron*, edited with introduction by Jacques Barzun—"(Byron's) story is better told in his own words than it has ever been told by any of his swarming biographers."
List Price $7.25 —Charles Poore

THE TIME OF THE ASSASSINS by Godfrey Blunden—"Perhaps the only novel on Russia written by a contemporary that can stand favorable comparison with *Darkness at Noon.*"
List Price $3.75 —New York Times

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE RING by J. R. R. Tolkien—"No fiction I have read in the last five years has given me more joy than *The Fellowship of the Ring.*"
List Price $5.00 —W. H. Auden

THE SHORES OF LIGHT by Edmund Wilson—"These short and occasional pieces display all the qualities that have made Wilson one of our most respected critics."
List Price $6.50 —William Phillips

BOUVARD AND PECUCHET in one volume with *The Dictionary of Accepted Ideas*, both by Gustave Flaubert, and *The Selected Letters of Gustave Flaubert*—"We have needed these works, and here we have all expert translators and distinguished critics to give us Flaubert again."
List Price $9.25 —Alfred Kazin

THE HOUSE BY THE MEDLAR TREE and *Little Novels of Sicily* by Giovanni Verga—"Verga is one of the masters of modern literature...the father of the Italian novel of our century."
List Price $6.00 —Paolo Milano

THE COLLECTED POEMS OF DYLAN THOMAS—"They contain the absolute poetry that has been written in our time."
List Price $3.75 —Herbert

IN SEARCH OF THEATER by Eric Bentley—"A cohesive work that deser be studied and cherished."
List Price $6.00 —John G

THE LIFE OF REASON (One Volume Edition) by George Santayana—"The adequate contribution America has yet made, always excluding Emerson, to philosophy."
List Price $6.50 —John D

THE CENTURY OF TOTAL WAR by Raymond Aron—"A book which r the closest attention...and introduces to America one of the distinguished r of our time."
List Price $5.00 —Arthur Schlesing

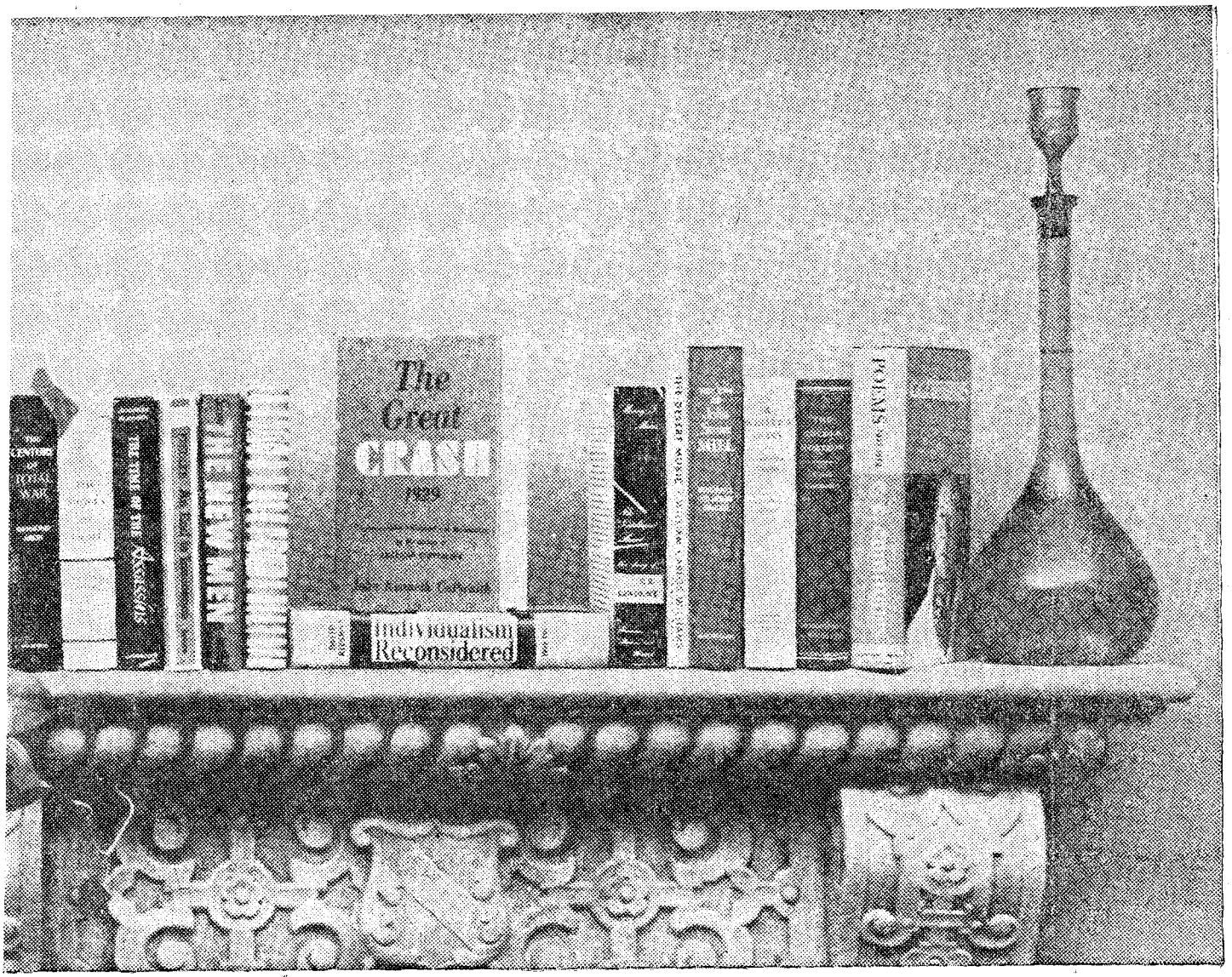
RESTLESS HOUSE by Emile Zola and *Emile Zola* by Angus Wilson—"This i gent and lively volume *(Emile Zola)* may help Zola capture his right place i body of American critical opinion.
List Price $6.75 —Henri

CLASSICS AND COMMERCIALS by Edmund Wilson—"The range of Mr. son's literary interests, as of his erudition, is a great part of his stature as a c
List Price $5.00 —Newton

THE LIFE OF JOHN STUART MILL by Michael St. John Packe—"This mous, learned and brilliant biography is a fine example of a nearly lost art, raphy in the grand manner."
List Price $6.50 —Orville Pr

THE DESERT MUSIC by William Carlos Williams—"...as Williams grows he will rise as far above his contemporaries as Yeats did above his in his latter y
List Price $3.00 —Kenneth Re

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



or $5.25

HE GOLDEN HORIZON edited by Cyril Connolly—"...caught in its faintly
ercilious eye is a fair share of minor masterpieces."
t Price $6.00 —Time

WRITER'S DIARY by Virginia Woolf—"...it is Virginia Woolf. Here we have
at she was and what she was for."
t Price $5.00 —Elizabeth Bowen

N END TO INNOCENCE by Leslie Fiedler and *The Great Crash* by J. K. Gal-
aith—"For the last ten years, Leslie Fiedler has been one of the liveliest and most
ovocative interpreters of American culture. I know of no publishing venture
nich is more needed than bringing his essays together in one volume."
st Price $6.50 —Robert Gorham Davis

NDIVIDUALISM RECONSIDERED by Davis Riesman—"Riesman is a sociolo-
st with 'style', a moralist with a new vocabulary, and a writer whose insights are
ten spectacular."
st Price $6.00 —Saturday Review

HE INTELLIGENT HEART by Harry T. Moore—"A painstaking, scholarly and
mpathetic exploration...will remain one of the basic books on its subject."
st Price $6.50 —Joseph Henry Jackson

HE PRIVATE DIARIES OF STENDHAL translated and edited by Robert Sage
"A literary event of the first order."
st Price $7.50 —John K. Hutchens

. E. CUMMINGS POEMS 1923-1954—"Cummings is one of the finest lyric
oets and social satirists America has yet produced."
st Price $6.75 —David Burns

HE NEW MEN by C. P. Snow—Winner of the James Tait Black Prize Award
or the best novel published in England in 1954.
st Price $3.50

You may become a member of The Readers' Subscription

by selecting the three books (retail value up to $23.00) that you wish to receive for $5.25 and mailing the coupon below. As a member, each month you will receive a copy of *The Griffin*, our magazine. After reading reliable reviews by Editors, *W. H. Auden*, *Jacques Barzun*, and *Lionel Trilling*, you will be able to accept or reject the current selection. And with every fourth selection accepted, (exclusive of your initial order) you will receive a bonus book of your own choosing.

Saving on monthly selections will average 25%, and your over-all savings, realized through the receipt of bonus books will exceed 45%. For the opportunity of enjoying these savings and services you agree to accept three more selections during the next year.

The Readers' Subscription, Inc. **35 West 53rd Street, New York 19, N. Y.**

Send me at once the three titles I have checked and bill me $5.25 plus a small charge for postage and handling. I agree to accept three more selections during the coming year. GUARANTEE: If I am not completely satisfied, I may return my first shipment within 7 days and my membership will be cancelled.

LIFE OF FREUD	☐	CENTURY OF TOTAL WAR	☐
OPPOSING SELF	☐	EMILE ZOLA / RESTLESS HOUSE	☐
LETTERS OF KEATS / LETTERS OF BYRON	☐	CLASSICS AND COMMERCIALS	☐
TIME OF THE ASSASSINS	☐	LIFE OF J. S. MILL	☐
FELLOWSHIP OF THE RING	☐	DESERT MUSIC	☐
SHORES OF LIGHT	☐	GOLDEN HORIZON	☐
LETTERS OF FLAUBERT / BOUVARD AND PECUCHET	☐	A WRITER'S DIARY	☐
NOVELS OF SICILY / HOUSE BY THE MEDLAR TREE	☐	AN END TO INNOCENCE / THE GREAT CRASH	☐
POEMS OF DYLAN THOMAS	☐	INDIVIDUALISM RECONSIDERED	☐
IN SEARCH OF THEATER	☐	INTELLIGENT HEART	☐
LIFE OF REASON	☐	DIARIES OF STENDHAL	☐
		POEMS OF E. E. CUMMINGS	☐
		THE NEW MEN	☐

Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Asians as peas out of the same pod is decried, but "if there are any attitudes common to all Asians," he tells us, "they are a fundamental resentment against Western domination in the recent past, a deep suspicion of Western motives in the present, and a very real fear of Western actions in the future." These attitudes find their expression in the strong attachment of all Asians to nationalism and in their desire to achieve economic independence of the West through industrialism.

FOR improving our relations with Asia, which he finds "profoundly disturbing and extremely dangerous," Professor Reischauer's specific is a determined effort on our part to arrive at a better understanding of the problems of the various Asian nations and to make ourselves and our democratic ideals better understood by them. While not underestimating the importance of military support and economic aid, given in a manner which takes fully into account the hypersensitiveness of Asians to any real or imagined infringement of their sovereign rights, he places the principal emphasis on "our arsenal of ideas" as an "implement of policy." If we do not win the battle of ideas against communism, our efforts on the military and economic fronts will be of little avail. It is with the ideals and practices of democracy, not any specific pattern of Western democracy, that we should fight ideological war in Asia. McCarthyitis and other minor maladies in our national life may seem to be handicaps at times, but Asians by and large know that we are basically democratic, and it is basic democracy, adapted to the needs of Asian nationalism, which will attract the leaders and peoples of the East. The task is difficult, with the odds perhaps against us, the author cautions. Only through deep understanding and unrelenting effort can we gain the confidence and cooperation of the Asian nations.

In view of his long and close association with Japanese studies, it is quite natural that Professor Reischauer should be most impressive in his tracing of Japan's past and his discussion of Japan's current relations with us. He points out that we face "a delicate problem of timing" because on the one hand we cannot permit our military and economic support to come into conflict with Japanese nationalist feelings lest its very purpose be defeated, and on the other hand we cannot withdraw support without running the risk of Japan's turning to communism or to some other form of totalitarianism. The Japanese want and are seeking a new position of dignity and destiny in the Asiatic community. It is in our interest to cooperate with them in achieving that goal.

There is much in Professor Reischauer's book that has already been said; there is much more in it that has not been said and that cannot be said or read too often. It should be "must" reading for the Dulles policy-planners. They will not find any ready-made policies, but they will find background and recommended attitudes which should be of much assistance to them in working out policies for Asia. The Secretary himself might do well to take the book along with him on his next trip.

"A Life of Allegory"

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Edwin Muir. Sloane Associates. $5.

By Carlos Baker

"A MAN'S life of any worth is a continual allegory," wrote the poet John Keats, "and very few eyes can see the Mystery of his life—a life like the Scriptures, figurative. . . . Shakespeare led a life of Allegory: his works are the comments on it." The hypothesis of Keats, interesting enough in itself, is one which gains the possibility of further interest by being applied to the life of Edwin Muir, the Scottish poet and critic, who here brings his autobiography up to date, incorporating the materials published in 1940 under the title of "The Story and the Fable" and moving up to the present time. The work on this revised and enlarged life of Muir was done in scraps of term time and in the vacations at Newbattle Abbey College in Scotland, where Muir has held since 1950 the post of Senior Warden.

The title of the earlier volume is indicative. For there is the story, the day-to-day, month-by-month account of comings and goings, doings and undoings, additions and subtractions, those outward and tangible events which Keats called "the multitudinousness of things," too many and too remotely related for our imaginations to grasp. And there is the fable, what Keats calls the allegory, that inward, unseen thrust and rudder, that deeper determinism, that patterning agency, by which if it is to happen at all, the merely multitudinous can take on shape and meaning. If we have to deal with a poet, we shall do best to look into his poetry for the imaginative shape of his life, and the shape lies partly exposed and outcropped there in Muir's excellent "Collected Poems." Yet when a man has crystallized his experience, and arranged the gems in some kind of order, there still remains much to be accounted for, much more indeed of fact and fancy than has ever got itself said in the poems. This is where the autobiography can enter as an agent of supplementation, or as a background against which the poems can show that much more clearly and brightly.

MUIR'S autobiography displays the quality of structural roundness in that it begins and ends in Scotland, with a protracted center which brought Muir and his gifted wife to the larger Continent, to Prague and Dresden, to Italy and Austria and France, and brought them, too, into touch with that conviction of the inevitability of the historical process which Muir regards, evidently, as one of the great and evil illusions of our time. The pattern of his life, in the larger sense, is one which moves from the illusions of childhood spent in a far and lonely region, into the illusions of history learned among the cultural centers of Europe, and finally to the hard,

CARLOS BAKER, chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University, is the author of "The American Looks at the World," "Hemingway, the Writer as Artist," "Shelley's Major Poetry," "Shelley's Poetry and Prose," and other books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

illusionless, democratic work of schoolmastering the deserving but impoverished Scottish students into the larger intellectual life: like, for example, the miner who came to Newbattle Abbey College and won a scholarship to Cambridge University with a dissertation on Immanuel Kant.

The first fourteen years were spent in the Orkneys, that scattered little group of islands that lies off the northernmost tip of Scotland, at enough of a remove from the dangerous Cape called Wrath to suggest an idea of peace, of lonely and windswept removal, which the facts as Muir sees them do not exactly warrant. In the Orkneys as he knew them there was "no great distinction between the ordinary and the fabulous," so that Auld Nickie, like as not, might appear suddenly in a thresher's barn to help the farmer with his grain, or one might encounter handsome little "fairicks," as beautiful as the leprechauns were grotesque, weaving some sort of dance on the wet sands in the misty moonlight.

When he began to write poetry, at the somewhat advanced age of thirty-five, Muir discovered how lucky he had been to spend a childhood in those Islands of the Blest. "These years had come alive," he says, "after being forgotten for so long, and when I wrote about horses they were my father's plow-horses as I saw them when I was four or five; and a poem on Achilles pursuing Hector round the walls of Troy was really a resuscitation of the afternoon when I ran away, in real terror, from another boy as I returned from school. The bare landscape of the little island became, without my knowing it, a universal landscape over which Abraham and Moses and Achilles and Ulysses and Tristram and all sorts of pilgrims passed; and Troy was associated with the Castle, a mere green mound, near my father's house."

Much later he was to be hectored in another sort of way, and to learn a further terror than being pursued by a bully home from school. In Prague the Muirs met a young Czech writer named Vera whose late husband, during the war, had served an underground group. Picked up by the Gestapo, the two young patriots were brought together. If Vera's husband would not talk, they would torture her as well. "But by then he had been so maltreated that he could not recognize her, and a young Gestapo man strangled him." Later they sent her, as a keepsake, a black cardboard box containing a neatly folded white shirt to which adhered dried blood and small scraps of her husband's skin. Vera had a photograph of the Gestapo group. "That is the one," she pointed out to the Muirs, "who strangled my husband." Auld Nickie took unhappier forms in the twentieth century than he had taken on the grain-thresher's floor in the Orkneys at the close of the nineteenth.

MUIR found that at his lowest periods of resistance he was continuously haunted by what he calls the "animal traits in human beings." One entry in his journals simply says: "We all come out of a hole and go back into a hole. Leave hiding and go back into hiding. The distance between is disguise." The reader thinks of Yeats's bitter lines on the dragon-ridden days of 1919 when those who talked of honor and truth had learned to "shriek with pleasure" if they showed "the weasel's twist, the weasel's tooth." Muir found in the dark days of the nineteen-forties that he could see men and women as human beings "only when [he saw] them as immortal souls."

In the end Muir emerges as a qualified optimist. "I cannot," he says, thinking back on the multitudinousness of his own career, "bring life into a neat pattern." But if there is a pattern of any sort, it is that the "most good" for the individual comes from "a few loyalties, and a few discoveries . . . which must always be made anew." As he looks back "on the part of the mystery which is my own life, my own fable, what I am most aware of is that we receive more than we can ever give; we receive it from the past, on which we draw with every breath, but also . . . from the source of the mystery itself, by the means which religious people call Grace." Muir's is the autobiography of a naturally pious man who has been to hell and back and lived to tell the tale, one version of the fable of modern man, an allegory on the mystery of things.

Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York

By Bernard Bellush. "For many a decade it will stand as the authoritative summary of a critical period in the life of one of our greatest Americans." ALLAN NEVINS. $5.00

Vichy—Political Dilemma

By Paul Farmer. At a time when France is again trying to rebuild her strength and make a place for herself in a divided world, this brilliant study throws much light upon France's present and her immediate past. $5.50

Israel's Emerging Constitution, 1948-1951

By Emanuel Rackman. Dr. Rackman demonstrates that Israel's constitution has taken form already and that further changes can be expected to be in the principles and composition of the parties. A comprehensive picture of politics and government in present-day Israel. $3.00

An Introduction to Japan

By Herschel Webb. " 'Introduction to Japan' serves as a history in capsule form and a starting off place for the reader who wants to delve farther. . . . A handy little book, thoughtfully and intelligently compiled." CHICAGO TRIBUNE $2.75

At your bookstore, or from
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

A stimulating, fair-minded and outspoken inquiry by

ALAN BARTH

"One of the most reflective men in American journalism today."
—JAMES RESTON

"The best concise picture that we have yet had of the Congressional inquisitors in action."—**New Republic.** With his knowledge of constitutional law and his experience as a journalist, Alan Barth shows where Congress has invaded the fields of the Executive, the Judiciary, and private civil rights, and suggests practical and far-reaching remedies. $3.00

GOVERNMENT BY INVESTIGATION

by the author of
The Loyalty of Free Men
THE VIKING PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS FROM

California

THE RISE AND SPLENDOUR OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE

By Rene Grousset

This historical narrative of the successive Imperial dynasties of ancient China includes many examples of their poetry, painting, and other works of art. $6.00

THE MOSCOW KREMLIN

By Arthur Voyce

A richly illustrated description of the ancient citadel of the Russians, its history, architecture, and art treasures. $10.00

THE WILHELMSTRASSE

By Paul Seabury

A study of German diplomats under the Nazis, their response to a totalitarian regime, and the complex problems of "moral responsibility" of a civil servant under such conditions. $3.00

MANY MEXICOS

By Lesley Byrd Simpson

This standard work explores the natural and historical forces instrumental in the formation of the Mexico of today. $5.00

PETROLEUM IN VENEZUELA

By Edwin Lieuwen

A historical account of the corruption, exploitation, and waste in an oil-rich country, and the resulting impact on inter-American and international affairs. $3.00

At your bookstore

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

Address: Berkeley 4, California

Congressional Inquisitions

GRAND INQUEST. The Story of Congressional Investigations. By Telford Taylor. Simon and Schuster. $4.50.

GOVERNMENT BY INVESTIGATION. By Alan Barth. The Viking Press. $3.

By Walter Millis

THESE are two serious studies of the Congressional "grand inquest." Both begin, as Congress itself did, with the St. Clair investigation in 1792. Both proceed from very similar viewpoints; they often cover much the same ground; the basic answers at which they arrive, if I understand them rightly, are much the same. Yet they are complementary rather than repetitive. Mr. Taylor goes with greater erudition into the history, the laws and complex precedents; Mr. Barth, with a warmer sense of indignation, more fully displays the contemporary excesses of government by investigation—Senator Eastland's "trial" of Clifford and Virginia Durr; Senator McCarthy's wrecking of the Voice of America and assumption of plenary diplomatic power in the matter of the Greek shipping companies; Senator McCarran's "extraordinarily vindictive" stretching of Owen Lattimore upon the rack, and so on.

Telford Taylor, who has a considerable capacity for indignation of his own which he here keeps under severely judicious restraint, tries to dig more deeply into the constitutional, political, and emotional foundations of the investigatory power, and perhaps loses clarity of thought in the process; Alan Barth, seeing things more simply in terms of the legislature's transgression of its powers, may not fully appreciate the real difficulty of determining the limits of those powers. Both writers of course accept the view that the power to investigate is inherent in and necessary to the legislative authority; both reject what Taylor calls "the illusion of investigative omnipotence," once cheerfully asserted by the New Deal enthusiasts of "big government," and now revived for their destruction by the McCarthys and Jenners. But it is not, Taylor adds, simply a question of "whose ox is gored"; there have been plenty of oxen for the goring on both sides in this business, and the real problem is to drive the line of power and its limitations fairly between them.

BOTH writers seem to see the answer primarily in the constitutional division of powers. Mr. Barth puts it rather more plainly: the investigative authority is "indispensable" to Congress but only in order that it may inform itself on legislation and exert a "brake" upon the power of the Executive; Congress may not legitimately expand its inquisitorial activities into attempts to supersede or control Executive authority over administration, or into attempts to usurp the courts' function of trial and condemnation. This admirable principle should, perhaps, take care of the excesses of the numerous committees in haling up, exposing, and punishing "subversives." But how is the principle to be established? While both authors recognize the desirability of improved committee rules and procedures, and while Taylor makes some useful concrete suggestions in that direction, both are bound to grant that a successful separation of powers can only be sustained in the end by the powers themselves. "Only strong Presidents and strong judges," Barth observes, "can cope with strong Congresses"; or as Taylor puts it, "if the President does not comprehend or cannot or will not uphold the responsibilities and prerogatives of his office, the constitutional balance and distribution of powers is upset." The courts have power to limit investigatory abuses, but to be effective the courts must exercise it.

Yet it is obviously not so simple as all that; for one thing, the constitutional separation of powers has never been clear or simple. Congress plainly has the duty of keeping tab upon the Executive by investigation. How does one then distinguish

WALTER MILLIS is the author of "The Martial Spirit," "Why Europe Fights," and other books, and the editor of "The Forrestal Diaries." He is now a consultant for the Fund for the Republic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW A PAPER EDITIONS BOOK CLUB

NO MINIMUM PURCHASE OBLIGATION

FREE BOOK

JUST SEND IN COUPON

BONUS BOOKS

FREE CATALOG
WITH COMPLETE LISTINGS
OF THE BEST IN PAPER EDITIONS

ACCEPT ONE OF THESE BOOKS FREE—NO OBLIGATION

INTRODUCTORY LIST

Int. 1—The Bridges at Toko-Ri by James A. Michener
Int. 2—The Atomic Age Opens, an Anthology
Int. 3—*Now Is the Time*: Segregation, the Supreme Court and Democracy by Lillian Smith (Author of Strange Fruit)
Int. 4—The Turn of the Screw and Daisy Miller by Henry James
Int. 5—The Book of Prayers. Edited by Leon and Elfrieda McCauley
Int. 6—The Little World of Don Camillo by Giovanni Guareschi
Int. 7—One Hundred American Poems. Edited by Selden Rodman
Int. 8—A Brief History of the United States by Franklin Escher, Jr.

At last! A **Paper Editions Book Club** so you can own the very finest works of the world's great authors! And at a minimum price! You, as a member, will have a new list of 40 selections submitted to you every three months. Buy as many as you like — or none at all. **You are not obligated to buy any minimum number of books!** Yet, through our bonus book plan, the more you buy the more books you will receive absolutely free! (See Bonus Lists.) Fill in the coupon. You will receive free of charge and at absolutely no obligation a free book which you may choose from the Introductory List and a catalog of "The Best in Paper Editions"! This paperbound brochure contains the cumulative lists of **The Paper Editions Book Club** and the Club's free bonus book lists, as well as the special offers of Paper Editions book packets available only to Club members. Fill in the coupon right away! Choose from the list of 40 selections.

40 SELECTIONS NOW AVAILABLE

1. **The Portable Walt Whitman.** Edited by Mark van Doren, $1.25
2. **The Lonely Crowd** by David Riesman, **$0.95**
3. **Three Great Religious Works: $1.20**
   The Song of God: *Bhagavad-Gita.* Translated by Probhavananda & Isherwood
   The Way of Life: Tao Te Ching by Lao Tzu
   The Meaning of the Glorious Koran. Translated by Pickthall
4. **Teacher in America** by Jacques Barzun, **$0.85**
5. **The Art of Teaching** by Gilbert Highet, **$0.95**
6. ***Six Novels by William Faulkner*: $1.20**
   Mosquitoes; Intruder in the Dust; Sanctuary; Requiem for a Nun; The Wild Palms; and The Old Man
7. **Democracy in America** by Alexis de Tocqueville (2 volumes), **$1.90**
8. **Two Important Volumes: $0.85—The Loyalty of Free Men** by Alan Barth; **The Fifth Amendment Today** by Dean Erwin Griswold
9. **Rousseau and Romanticism** by Irving Babbitt, **$1.35**
10. **Twelve Plays by Shakespeare: $1.05—Four Great Comedies; Four Great Historical Plays; Four Great Tragedies.**
11. ***Fifty Major Documents of the Twentieth Century.*** Edited by Louis Snyder, **$1.25**
12. **Crime and Punishment** by Fyodor Dostoevsky, **$0.95**
13. **The Brothers Karamazov** by Fyodor Dostoevsky, **$0.95**
14. **A Short History of Music** by Alfred Einstein, **$0.95**
15. **The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society** by Norbert Wiener, **$0.75**
16. **The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science** by Edwin Arthur Burtt, **$0.95**
17. **Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays** by Bronislaw Malinowski, **$0.85**
18. **The Immoralist** by Andre Gide, **$0.95**
19. **A Collection of Essays** by George Orwell, **$0.95**
20. **The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806** by John Bartlett Brebner, **$1.25**
21. Three by George Gamow: **$1.35—Biography of the Earth; Birth and Death of the Sun; One, Two, Three—Infinity**
22. **The Charterhouse of Parma** by Stendhal, **$0.95**
23. **Roosevelt and Hopkins** by Robert Sherwood (2 volumes), **$0.70**
24. **Moses and Monotheism** by Sigmund Freud, **$0.95**
25. ***Two More by Freud*: $0.85**
    Freud: His Dream and Sex Theories
    General Introduction to Psychology
26. **The Wanderer** by Henri Alain-Fournier, **$0.75**
27. **The Country of the Pointed Firs, and Other Stories** by Sarah Orne Jewett, **$0.95**
28. **Sea and Sardinia** and Selections from **Twilight in Italy** by D. H. Lawrence, **$0.85**
29. **Abinger Harvest** by E. M. Forster, **$1.25**
30. Science-Fiction by Arthur C. Clarke: **$1.40**
    Expedition to Earth; Prelude to Space; Childhood's End; Earthlight
31. **American Humor: A Study of the National Character** by Constance Rourke, **$0.75**
32. **History of England** by G. M. Trevelyan (3 volumes), **$2.55**
33. Two Great American Novels: **$1.00—The Big Money** by John Dos Passos; **The Wall** by John Hersey
34. **Force and Freedom** by Jacob Burckhardt, $1.35
35. **Imperialism and Social Classes** by Joseph Schumpeter, **$1.25**
36. **Death in Venice, and Seven Other Stories** by Thomas Mann, **$0.95**
37. **Stephen Crane: Stories and Tales, $0.95**
38. **Gulliver's Travels** by Jonathan Swift, **$0.95**
39. **An Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture** by Ernst Cassirer, **$0.75**
40. **To the Finland Station: A Study in the Writing and Acting of History** by Edmund Wilson, **$1.25**

BONUS LISTS

LIST A (One of these free if your order is from $2.00 to $2.95)
A-1, The Snake Pit, Ward; A-2, Is Sex Necessary? Thurber & White; A-3, Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World, Fisher; A-4, The Big Con, Maurer; A-5 Bridge of San Luis Rey, Wilder; A-6, Best of Damon Ruyon; A-7, Precious Bane, Mary Webb; A-8, Winesburg, Ohio, Anderson; A-9 Pocket History of American Painting

LIST B (One of these free if your order is from $3.00 to $3.95)
B-1, Out of My Life and Thought, Schweitzer; B-2, The Big Sky, Guthrie; B-3, Madame Bovary, Flaubert; B-4 Psychopathology of Everyday Life, Freud; B-5 The Oregon Trail, Parkman; B-6, Rand-McNally Pocket Atlas; B-7, The Mad Reader; B-8 Sons and Lovers, Lawrence; B-9, A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, Twain; B-10; The Universe and Dr. Einstein, Barnett; B-11, Modern American Short Stories

LIST C (One of these free if your order is from $4.00 to $4.95)
C-1, The Burl Ives Song Book; C-2, Buddenbrooks, Mann; C-3 Story of the Bible, Van Loon; C-4 Great Modern Short Novels; C-5, The Grapes of Wrath, Steinbeck; C-6, Psychology of Sex, Ellis; C-7, The Dynamics of Soviet Society, Rostow; C-8, Ballet in America, Amberg; C-9, The 1955 Pocket Almanac

LIST D (For your order of from $5.00-$10.00 — Select any one from List A plus any one from List B, or any one from List C, or any one of the following): D-1, The Cruel Sea, Monsarrat; D-2, Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther, Bainton; D-3, The American, James; D-4, The Complete Book of Gardening, Goodpasture (ed.); D-5, Dead Souls, Gogol; D-6, Pilgrim's Progress, Bunyan

LIST E (For your order of $10.00 or over — Select any three from List A or List B, or any two from List C or List D, or any one of the following): E-1, The Stranger, Camus; E-2, The American Political Tradition, Hofstradter; E-3, Seven Famous Greek Plays, Oates and O'Neill (eds.); E-4, The Caine Mutiny, Wouk; E-5, Lectures on Psychoanalytic Psychiatry, Brill; E-6, The Portable Mark Twain, de Voto (ed.)

THE PAPER EDITIONS BOOK CLUB
2233 El Camino Real • Palo Alto, California

Please send me free of charge and without obligation Book Number Int._____(Choose any one from Introductory List)

☐ I do not wish to buy any books at this time but please send your free catalog of Paper Editions.

☐ I do wish to order the following books, the numbers of which I have circled: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40

This purchase entitles me to the following bonus book (books) free of charge (See Bonus Lists)_____

☐ Please bill me.

☐ I enclose payment so my order will come handling and postage prepaid.

Mr.
Mrs._____
Miss (Please print plainly)

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

California residents please add 3% sales tax. 016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here are nine vivid, close-up portraits of typical Russians . . . intimate studies in narrative form that reveal how the rank and file citizens of the U. S. S. R. really feel about life under the regime. These realistic stories bring you an authentic cross-section of Soviet society today, showing the pressures and rewards its members encounter in pursuing their personal goals.

Though the characters are fictitious, they are built solidly on material gathered in interviews with Russian refugees and on data available to the author at Harvard's Russian Research Center and at the Center for International Studies at M. I. T.

$3.95 at your bookstore

NINE SOVIET PORTRAITS

by RAYMOND A. BAUER, with the assistance of EDWARD WASIOLEK

A Technology Press Book, M. I. T.

JOHN WILEY & SONS, Inc.

440 Fourth Avenue New York 16, N. Y.

The book by the man who knows **Khrushchev**

3rd printing

"Solidly packed with pertinent and extremely important information, obtained by a trained observer with a level head. MacDuffie is the McCoy."
—ORIANA ATKINSON, Saturday Review

THE RED CARPET

10,000 MILES THROUGH RUSSIA ON A VISA FROM KHRUSHCHEV

By **MARSHALL MacDUFFIE**

77 uncensored illustrations

$4.50

NORTON at bookstores

BUY UNITED STATES SAVINGS BONDS

between a check-up and a controlling check rein? If the army really had been "coddling Communists" could one have denied Senator McCarthy's right to investigate and force the army to alter its administrative methods? It was the apparent motive, as well as the methods, of the investigation, rather than the constitutional power to make it, which one had to call in question. Barth recalls the 1862 committee on the conduct of the Civil War as an "outright attempt by the legislature to usurp executive functions," for it not only "exposed military errors and inefficiencies but tried to take over the actual conduct of military affairs." But how may one activity be distinguished, in practice, from the other?

For another thing, there is a fourth party to the constitutional balance—the individual citizen. The separation of powers was intended not simply to protect the courts from the legislature or the legislature from the executive; it was fundamentally intended to protect the individual from government as a whole. The major part of the controversy over the investigations revolves, of course, around their invasion of individual rights and guaranties; unfortunately, this is the most difficult area to deal with. Mr. Barth can give moving instances of "legislative trials" violating all our concepts of due process; both writers deal at length, if somewhat uneasily, with the Fifth Amendment plea; Mr. Taylor sees that the anti-Communist investigations have got us "deep in what can accurately be described only as *inquisition*." But there is in Mr. Taylor, perhaps also in Mr. Barth, a fuzziness as to how to get out—a fuzziness arising it would seem, from the uncertainty and ambivalence with which the whole problem of communism is regarded by even our clearest and most liberal minds.

Mr. Taylor tries to help by introducing a background concept of what he calls the "cold civil war." He sees all these issues of powers, prerogatives, individual rights and duties enmeshed in an impassioned internal struggle; but though at one point he defines this as "a nationalist, 'native-American' challenge to the middle-class liberalism and internationalism which have been the prevailing political climate," he fails to make very clear either precisely what this struggle is or how it affects the issues with which he grapples. Is it simply the unbridled violence of this "cold civil war" which has led us into the present state of heresy trials and political inquisitions, or is there something in the Communist problem which has rendered these things unavoidable? Mr. Taylor notes that the underlying reason why the committees have got so far into the courts' business of prosecution and punishment is that the courts are unable to prosecute or punish for the activities which the committees desire to repress. "If," he says at one place, "what the nation wants and needs is a powerful and flexible governmental mechanism for political inquisition and denunciation, there is truly no substitute for a Congressional investigation operated by a Dies or a McCarthy." Mr. Taylor, of course, wants nothing of the kind. But what to do assuming that the nation does want it, or even to what extent the nation may actually "need" such defenses against communism, is not made clear.

Facts Without Vision

THE RECOGNITIONS. By William Gaddis. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $7.50.

By John Berger

BECAUSE I happen to be reviewing this 950-page novel I wish that I had time to read it again. But if I were reading it for my own interest I certainly would not do so. This fact demonstrates how specialized our cultural judgments have become, how far removed from our personal, comparatively spontaneous recognitions of what is good and bad. I think that Mr. Gaddis himself would agree with this. His title, "The Recognitions," is probably meant to be taken on several levels, but at least one of the themes of this book is the falseness, the ob-

JOHN BERGER is the art critic of the New Statesman and Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liqueness, of the type of recognition gained by artists in Western society.

The chief character is a painter of implied genius who fakes paintings by the early Flemish masters, or rather paints new works in their style and then forges the signature. His motive for doing this is not cash but is similar to that which drives his father, a New England clergyman, from the orthodox church to various forms of pagan sacrifices; both of them realize that true individuality is bound to be destroyed by the modern cult of personality and so seek a past order of values which places less emphasis on self-consciousness. Or at least that is their rational motive; their irrational motives are ritualistic and center around the death of the mother. A description of the dark meaning of their even darker pilgrimage takes up a large part of the book: the rest is mostly a satire on the false glitter of New York bohemianism.

NEEDLESS to say, a lot can be packed into 950 pages. There are quotations in Latin, German, French, Spanish, Italian; descriptions of thunder storms, hospitals, fornications, electric railways, monasteries, radio programs, papal agents, parochial villages, and the capitals of Europe. There are many secondary and subsidiary characters—a crook-connoisseur art critic (called Basil Valentine!), a Catholic lame-dog musician, a young so-called playwright who wears his arm in a sling to give himself airs, a counterfeiter of dollar bills, drunks in the subway, a business tycoon who falls down the stairs in a suit of armor and kills himself, a Negro butler who plans murder, a series of bohemian women who go to parties to get bed companions, and a man who either is or pretends to be Ernest Hemingway.

To match this variety of subject matter, there are several different ways of writing. There is straight and often very amusingly satirical dialogue; there are pages of involved introspection; there are purple passages; there is the film-camera technique of panning in on a street and following the lives of people who happen to get on the same bus and to sit next to each other but have nothing else in common.

But when all has been said (and

New INTERNATIONAL *Books*

MAO TSE-TUNG

Selected Works

The most important writings of Mao Tse-tung are included in this five-volume set, translated from the latest Chinese edition, with copious explanatory notes by the English editors.

"Translation of this primary source material on communism in China will be welcomed by the general body of Western social scientists, who, having in the past depended on necessarily limited citations by experts, can now turn to the fuller context of these excerpts."
—OWEN LATTIMORE, Journal of Political Economy

"An important source, especially for the strategic concepts involved."
Foreign Affairs.

"The publication of Mao's writings in English will be for Americans a font of inspiration in the common effort to achieve peaceful and mutually beneficial relations."—New World Review

Vol. 1: 1926-1936; Vol. 2: 1937-1938; Vol. 3: 1939-1941. (Volumes 4 and 5 will be ready by the end of the year)
Each Volume, $3.00

LABOR FACT BOOK 12

Prepared by Labor Research Ass'n

Just published, this latest volume in the biennial series, has up-to-the-minute data on the economic situation, civil liberties, labor, politics, farmers, Negro people, and information on a host of social and other problems of interest to students and labor and community leaders. Trade, $2.50; Popular, $2.00

WALT WHITMAN

Poet of American Democracy

Selections from his Poetry and Prose edited with an introduction and a special Anniversary preface by
SAMUEL SILLEN

"It has given me genuine pleasure. Constructive criticism such as this, coupled with an intelligent selection of Whitman's own words on themes of particular interest to contemporary readers will certainly be the very best means of increasing Whitman's audience. Sillen has done it with the verve and dash of a good reporter, but has retained the perspective of scholarship. I congratulate him upon the difficult accomplishment."
—CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS, leading Whitman scholar.

Cloth $2.50 Paper covers $1.25

HISTORY OF THE THREE INTERNATIONALS

by William Z. Foster

A comprehensive survey of the world Socialist and Communist movements from the International Workingmen's Association of Marx and Engels to the present day. A detailed history of the First, Second (Socialist), and Third (Communist) Internationals, covering fundamental matters of great interest to all those concerned with labor and world politics. 580 pages, $6.00

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Edited with a full-length biography by PHILIP S. FONER

With the recent publication of the fourth volume, this work is now complete.

"This fourth and final volume of The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass completes what is truly the most important historical documentation of the career of the Negro in American society that has yet appeared. It is no exaggeration to say that there is no study comparable to this monumental work of historical scholarship in providing an understanding of the tragic struggle of the Negro to acquire recognition not only as a citizen but as a human being in American Society."—PROF. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, Howard University.

	Trade	Pop.
Vol. 1. Early Years: 1817-1849 448 p.	$4.50	$4.00
Vol. II. The Pre-Civil War Decade 576 p.	5.00	4.50
Vol. III. The Civil War 448 p.	4.50	4.00
Vol. IV. Reconstruction and After 576 p.	5.00	4.50

Each volume is complete in itself, with biography, notes and index, and can be bought separately.

Special Offer for the Entire Set of Four Volumes (Pop. Ed.) $15.00

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

ORDER FROM YOUR BOOKSHOP OR DIRECT FROM PUBLISHER

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed is $_____ for the books checked below:
Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works _____Vol. 1; _____Vol. 2; _____Vol. 3 (3.00 each)
Walt Whitman _____ cloth ($2.50); _____ paper cover ($1.25). History of the Three Internationals _____($6.00). Labor Fact Book 12 _____($2.50) _____$2.00).
Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass: Vol. I_____($4.50) _____($4.00);
Vol. II_____($5.00) _____($4.50); Vol. III_____($4.50) _____($4.00);
Vol. IV_____($5.00) _____($4.50). THE SET OF FOUR VOLUMES _____($15.00)
(Postage Prepaid)

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ Zone_____ State_____N-1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

READ MANAS

the 8-page weekly of current comment—on science, religion, education, philosophy—with substance-providing reviews of whatever books and articles seem to the editors to be shaping future thought and lighting new directions. $5 a year

For 3 free sample copies, write

The Manas Publishing Company, P.O. Box 32112
El Sereno Station • Los Angeles 32, California

Published March 31
The most important technical book of the year

MOVING THE EARTH
The Workbook of Excavation
by Herbert L. Nichols Jr.

1280 pages, 5⅝ x 9½. . Over 400,000 words and 2500 illustrations. Highest quality paper, presswork and binding.

A complete coverage of the methods and equipment of the dynamic excavation industry, for the excavator, engineer, public works official, home builder, and student.

Price $15.00 Satisfaction guaranteed

NORTH CASTLE BOOKS
Dept. N, 212 Bedford Road, Greenwich, Conn.

25% Discount
ON ALL BOOKS
(10% on Texts and Technical Books)
*ANY BOOK YOU CHOOSE
1) Deduct 25% from list.
2) Add 15c per book for postage.
3) Send check or money order.
*Only obligation, you agree to buy at least 4 books during first year.
N.Y.C. residents add 3% tax.

THRIFTY BOOK CLUB
206 West 15th Street
Dept.N, N.Y.C. 11, NY
Phone: CHelsea 3-6499

NO MEMBERSHIP FEE

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled To the Author in Search of a Publisher. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.
VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE
Buy Your Books
through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss O. LePach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

written), what does it add up to—the satire, the analysis of art, faith, and personality, the pagan sacrifices, the symbolic deaths, the Catholicism, the experimental writing? In my opinion it adds up to nothing more than an encyclopedia. Or perhaps one should say nothing less, for behind an encyclopedia there is a formidable amount of knowledge and some of the entries are bound to be useful. But an encyclopedia is not a work of art.

Reading this book and considering both the matter and the manner of it, one is reminded of some huge, impressive bird, wings outstretched, neck taut, talons grasping; one is impatient to see it take to the air; and then suddenly one realizes that it can't, that for all its fine feathers, the bones of its wings are broken. Finally one puts the book down, longing like the bird, the author, and the main characters for some quiet open space. It is a trapped book: the testament of a prisoner counting his grievances, or a miser his coins. I don't want to be overharsh. Some of the grievances are ones we all know, and it does us good to have them defined; some of the coins are rare and valuable. But what it lacks, like all claustrophobic works of art, is imagination. It has plenty of invention and fantasy, but that is something different. Imagination in art is the ability to select significantly: to select in order to communicate a vision.

This book has no vision because the writer can see no way out of the vicious environment he describes so obsessively. The facts are piled up because they may contain a clue to the way out—but he does not find it. The book lacks perspective both socially and psychologically. And in the end it is this, I think, that explains the awkwardness of the style in which much of it is written and its inordinate length. Because the writer is trapped, he barely envisages the existence of the reader; unlike that of James Joyce his prose is unoral, heavy, silent; unlike a great but lengthy writer like Thomas Mann he has no desire to convince by accumulation; one finds oneself after nearly 1,000 pages in exactly the same place as one started. It is perhaps for that reason that I began by saying that I felt I ought to read this book again.

Schoolmaster and Clergyman

COLLECTED POEMS. 1928-1953. By Stephen Spender. Random House. $4.

THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES. By W. H. Auden. Random House. $3.

By John Ciardi

BY NOW Auden and Spender have been grouped together so often as some sort of hyphenated compound—generally assumed to contain also an element known as C. Day Lewis—that the casual reader may overlook the fact that they are very different, as well as slightly similar, poets, and that in many ways they are, in fact, quite opposite temperaments. They were at Oxford together, they accepted loosely a kind of alliance that popular reception suggested to them, and they were both concerned with the social look of the world's falling into its rusted thirties. Inevitably, therefore, when books by Auden and Spender appear in the same reviewing period, they are reviewed together.

From the very start, however, the difference declared by each in his address to the poem has been not so much a matter of divergence as of opposites. Auden has been the schoolmaster of the spirit, Spender more nearly its chaplain. One is tempted to imagine what these two talents might have been in another age. Spender might so easily have been, say, Wordsworth, or Rupert Brooke even, had not the present age of cynicism hardened his idealism, an idealism not much removed from that one may observe in the best tradition of the Anglican country priest. But not Auden; he is a more complex figure—a touch of Byronism (more than a touch), a technical passion almost Popeian in its intensity, an intellectualism Coleridge could have respected.

All of which is speculation to be sure. But all of which points to the

JOHN CIARDI teaches at Rutgers. A new book of his poems, "As If, Poems New and Selected," will be published in the fall.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

central difference. For Auden the passion is poetry. For Spender the passion is man. Auden will do anything but permit himself to be clumsy. Spender is willing to trample the poem underfoot in order to declare the age and the need of man.

To locate such a difference is not to claim that Auden has no interest in the human position or that Spender is not an accomplished technician. Yet the difference in emphasis remains. Nothing is more true of poetry than the fact that every kind of excellence is possible in it. Auden wins us primarily by being the singing-master of the age. Spender wins us by the very human intensity with which he champions the human position of the age. Auden's is the voice of sophistication; Spender's, of idealism.

WHATEVER value there may be in comparison, it seems obvious by now that Auden is the master poet. His new poems are less slangy and mannered than many of his earlier, but still intimate and almost offhand. One may or may not be charmed by the artfulness of the opening seven poems to Winds, Woods, Mountains, and other natural features, a group Auden calls Bucolics. But some of the lyrics in the second section, In Sunshine and in Shade, and some of the seven poems he groups as Horae Caconicae seem certainly to be permanent glories of the language. I know of no poet in English who could have worked eight repeated lines and a single refrain into a poem as haunting as the last poem in this book, Lauds.

And where Auden finds his successes by the sublimity of his poetic play—always understanding by "play" not simple amusement but the central drive to all art and form—Spender wins his successes by a passion for his subject so intense that it shatters through the play impulse to a naked intensity of statement. "I claim fulfilment in the fact of loving," Spender wrote in his Preludes (1930-1933).

That act of passionate and unreserved commitment when turned to social themes produced a body of early poems that appear inescapably dated today. What a long time it seems since poets were saying with overwhelming conviction:

> Oh young man, oh young comrades
> it is too late now to stay in those houses
> your fathers built where they built you to breed
> money on money. . . .
>
> advance to rebuild and sleep with friend on hill
> advance to rebel and remember what you have
> no ghost ever had, immured in his hall.

What a far sound of yesterday!

Yet in a poem as good as the one beginning "After they have tired of the brilliance of cities," I find myself captured and convinced—at least hopefully—all over again.

> How was it that works, money, interest, building could ever hide
> The palpable and obvious love of man for man?

This is hardly graceful poetry. It is not the skill of the saying that compels one. Rather it is the passionate sincerity that can say a thing so obviously true and still make it intense and alive. Spender is saying something not much different from Wordsworth's

> And much it grieved my heart to think
> What man has made of man.

Neither passage, specifically, and neither poet, generally, adds much to the technical resources of the language. Both win by risking the human assertion without artifice.

And although Spender is capable of skilful artifice it is that unabashed directness of feeling which remains the center of his talent. From the early poems of social protest Spender's development has been inward to what he himself has called "the still center." From intellectuality his perception has broadened to include a self-awareness I dislike calling intuitive, but lacking a better word in the language, shall have to let it stand. But these developments have not changed, they have only deepened, Spender's human affirmation. He is a less awesome poet than Auden, but no one writing today has better expressed the *pathos* of our human situation.

Soviet Civilization

by **Corliss Lamont**

Second Edition — New and Enlarged — Just Published

With an Epilogue by Dr. Lamont, summarizing Soviet developments during the past two years; and with an introduction by James Aronson, noted journalist.

EVENTS IN RUSSIA have moved with startling rapidity in the more than two years since *Soviet Civilization* first offered Americans a lucid, multi-sided account of the Soviet Union.

Now, in this enlarged edition, Dr. Lamont brings his extensive knowledge and unhampered insight to bear on what Soviet developments portend for Americans.

Is no-existence the only alternative to co-existence? How much has Soviet policy changed and is American policy keeping pace? What role is Russia playing in international relations?

Among the Timely Topics

Evaluating Soviet Russia • Soviet National and Racial Minorities • Soviet Russia and Religion • Contrasts between Soviet Socialism and Fascism • Soviet Foreign Policy • Co-existence or No-existence • Atomic Energy for Peaceful Use

Comments on the first edition of this monumental work

"His reputation for intellectual integrity ought to be enough to earn him a hearing." —Charlotte, N. C., News

"If this book were read by ten million Americans it could have a profound influence on the shape of human destiny." —Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild

"Most shocking and stimulating is the sub-chapter 'Incitements to War against the USSR' which contains well-documented evidence of the American attitude—both public and private—against the Soviet Union." —Durham, N. C., Herald

480 pages . . . $5.00

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, *Publishers* 15 E. 40 St., Desk N, N. Y. 16

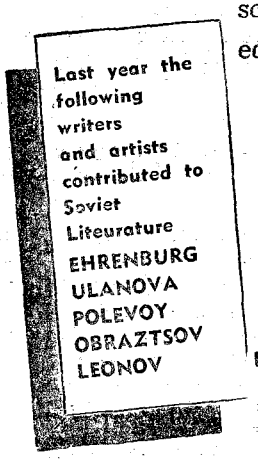
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do you like FISH PASTE?

Or would you prefer fresh salmon?

Seriously though, on the question of writing, are you one for the potted, pre-digest? or do you appreciate the full flavour of the original?

Discerning men and women read the latest short stories, novels, poems, drama and critique from the USSR in *Soviet Literature*, the monthly cultural journal. Price 30c a copy or $1.85 a year's subscription posted direct from England.



Send in this Coupon Today

To COLLET'S BOOKSHOPS

44 & 45 Museum Street, London, W. C. 1

I enclose 30c for a sample copy of / $1.80 a year's subscription to SOVIET LITERATURE

Name _____

Address _____

(R) _____

New Books In Brief

The Darwin-Huxley Debate

APES, ANGELS AND VICTORIANS. The Story of Darwin, Huxley, and Evolution. By William Irvine. McGraw-Hill. $5.

This is a surprisingly fresh and lively account of the two men who did more than any other Englishmen of their time to create the intellectual atmosphere in which we still live. Professor Irvine centers his story in the men themselves, but he takes in the whole age they typified and the whole scientific movement that culminated in them. The result is a thoroughly admirable presentation which manages to be entertaining and sometimes humorous without sacrificing soundness or even a reasonable degree of completeness. The author has a shrewd, almost Stracheyan eye for the all too human weaknesses of the protagonists and at the same time a vivid realization of just what was at stake in the great debate over Darwin's theory. Too often the story has been told as though it were no more than a sort of preliminary Scopes trial and as though the whole affair had become merely quaint. Professor Irvine knows better, and his account is all the more interesting because he makes us realize that there are aspects of the questions at issue which have not been settled yet and perhaps never will be. All in all, this is popular science and popular intellectual history very nearly at its best.

Survey of Criticism

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN LITERARY CRITICISM. By Harry H. Clark, Richard H. Fogle, Robert P. Falk, John H. Raleigh, and C. Hugh Holman. Edited by Floyd Stovall. University of North Carolina. $4.

The shifting and overlapping tides of American critical expression offer us insight into the present as well as the past literary scene. From early contests between classicists and romantics, between nationalists and traditionalists, between moralists and aesthetes, sifts the genesis of twentieth-century American achievement in the demanding art of literary criticism. Poe's demands for standards, Emerson's transcendentalist manifestoes, Howells's defense of the new "realism," James's high sense of craft, and Bourne's attacks on a moribund gentility—all these sent out sound waves that reverberate through much of the serious criticism of today.

In spite of its promise and liveliness, American criticism has never before been subjected to a satisfactory historical survey. Now, under the direction of Floyd Stovall, a distinguished Whitman specialist, five scholars have prepared essays on the criticism of five periods between 1800 and the present. The result is an objective and well-coordinated consideration of a field which has been distinguished *per se* and for the creative literature it has sponsored.

Built on Conservation

MOTHER AND SON. By I. Compton-Burnett. Messner. $3.50.

I. Compton-Burnett has long delighted fastidious readers, and little wonder. Her novels glint with literary counterpoints, combining remarkable economy of observation with consistently quotable epigrammatic prose.

In "Mother and Son," her new novel, Miss Compton-Burnett continues her incisive probing into class and family relationships. The pungent dialogue is interrupted by a bare minimum of description; conflicts are established, tested, and withdrawn with a flick of narrative. Nothing in Miss Compton-Burnett's work is blurred or smokily evocative. The lines of conversation on which her drama is built cross with brittle subtlety.

It is, however, possible to tire of a play of minds, sensitive as they may be, which all speak with essentially the same voice. Even the children in this book spin epigrams, betraying their age only by occasional tears which, in view of their wit, are not altogether convincing. The dialogue, moreover, tends to worry a facet of a situation past the point of diminishing returns; indeed, the situations often seem created in order to present an opportunity for dia-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

logue. Ultimately one is left with the impression that Miss Compton-Burnett's fiction serves as handmaiden to her wit.

Literate and Exciting

COROMANDEL! By John Masters. The Viking Press. $3.95.

John Masters has earned a reputation as a literate spinner of adventure tales. With a deep knowledge of and sympathy for the people of the East, he offers sharp contrast to the usual banalities of exotic fiction. But "Coromandel!" is not simply an adventure story. It is a moving romance, an effective recreation of a form all too often debased into the adolescent glop of pseudo-historical fiction.

In his story of Jason Savage, a young British dreamer and adventurer of the early seventeenth century, Masters demonstrates an unexpected gift for lyric description, whether of a semi-pagan harvest dance in rural England or the alternating violence and peace of unconquered India. The book proceeds from adventure to adventure as a romance should, but the extraordinary vividness with which both the familiar and the exotic are presented makes the novel sing in the mind. "Coromandel!" is the story of a map that wasn't true, of a journey into cruelty and love. It is a story of faith and disillusion and wonder—a book for those who believe good dreams are never wasted.

Little Dam Sense

BIG DAM FOOLISHNESS By Elmer T. Peterson. Devin-Adair. $3.50.

Elmer Peterson has done yeoman work in highlighting some of the faults and extremities of the school of engineering which thinks of nothing but big dams downstream on the big rivers. This school ignores the fact that most of the lasting damage from floods is above any dam. Mr. Peterson calls our attention to the undoubted virtue of keeping water on and in the land, and to the near-miracles of flood control and water conservation that can be accomplished by systematic and careful development and protection of the thousands of small upstream watersheds that make up a big one.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

IF IT can survive until the summer tourists come to town, "Champagne Complex" (Cort) should do well enough for its investors. Visitors turned away at the box office of "Silk Stockings" or "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" will note the tangy title of Leslie Stevens's farce and buy themselves an amiable evening. Since it is a three-character, one-set play, modest patronage will keep it going; and when the Broadway mileage is out of it, Hollywood will pay something for the title. Show business is indeed a delicate art.

"Champagne Complex" concerns a young woman who strips when under the influence of that beverage. I shall not pursue the plot farther, for you would not believe that a grown man could sit through three acts of such tomfoolery. Yet it was rather good fun, and the credit for that goes to Polly Bergen, Donald Cook, and John Dall, and to Michael Gordon, who cynically directed their fine stage behavior to every catch-penny device of the theater.

Complimenting actors on their performance of such stuff is a little like commending a card sharp for his dexterity—obviously they should be putting their talent to better purposes. But it must be admitted that this trio spins nothing at all with a wonderful plausibility. The emperor's clothes have seldom looked so becoming.

THE single quality that recommends "Marty" is its honest sentiment. Since United Artists has booked the picture into the Sutton, an "art" theater, it apparently feels that this is not a quality that enjoys mass acceptance. The situation is anomalous, for "Marty" is a remake of a television drama, and the TV audience is thought to be the most mass of all.

Perhaps the difference is that in the picture palaces we the people

Despite unfounded rumors

THE ALBERT SCHWEITZER JUBILEE BOOK

is not *out of print*

Available in every binding —the book that has delighted this great man so much. Edited by A. A. Roback, this work contains far more about Dr. Schweitzer than any biography.

". . . one of the great biographical encomiums of history." —Etude

Cloth Bound $7.80 (postpaid) After June 15, $10.00

De luxe ¾ Morocco hand tooled in gold. Superior laid paper. $15.00 (postpaid)

Royal de luxe full Niger Morocco in burgundy. Color inlaid design. With autographs of Dr. Schweitzer and most contributors. Bound to order. ($10.00 of the price goes to the Schweitzer Hospital Fund.) $45.00 (postpaid)

DESTINY AND MOTIVATION IN LANGUAGE

DR. A. A. ROBACK

Highly readable study in dynamics of language. Hundreds of topics from anxiety consonants to slang. 25 languages cited. Glossary. 3 indexes. Bibliography. Numbered. Autographed. 474 pages (6"x9"). $10.00 (postage 30c)

". . . a provocative and stimulating work . . . by a noted psychologist . . . As a quest for the interesting in language, it cannot fail to attract and reward readers from among the uninitiated as well as the expert." —*Word (a leading linguistic journal)*

". . . the prodigious energy and erudite scholarship of psychologist Professor Roback radiate once again in his newest interest, psycholinguistics . . . pioneer in a new semantic realm where psychology and language can meet . . . "Typographic Masterpiece."—Library Journal

THE SHOCK OF EXISTENCE

DR. ROBERT CREEGAN

Theories of cultural history. Relationships between science, art and philosophy; between politics and intellectual culture. Destiny symbols — chance and design, love and death, estrangement and conciliation.

[illegible] pages $7.5[illegible] (postage 15c)

SCI-ART PUBLISHERS, Dept. I Harvard Square, Cambridge 38, Mass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religious Advertisements Approaching Climax

Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God necessary for Defeat of Communism.—Why is the communist movement always ATHEISTIC? Because, in the time of Marx, religious power helped to end American slavery; and the same religious power can help to end communism today. Communism is afraid of Religion. According to communistic imagination, Labor is at the mercy of privately-owned Capital, which "monopolizes" Industrial Machinery, and therefore has power to oppress and "exploit" Labor.

Labor and Capital Both Exploited by corrupt Fiscal Power.—Laboring people are forced to compete for jobs in overcrowded cities by two very unnatural conditions:—(1) Corrupt *overtaxation* of Productive Enterprise, and (2) corrupt *undertaxation* of Land. This fundamental economic and social *injustice* was begun by the machinations of British Landed Aristocrats, hundreds of years ago. Undertaxation of Land gives an artificial selling and rental "value" to Land. In this way, Land acquires unjust and dangerous power over Private Enterprise at the very moment that Private Enterprise itself is being corruptly overtaxed.

Corrupt Fiscal Power inherited from Britain.—Overtaxation of Productive Enterprise is reflected in artificially HIGH PRICE OF GOODS. And at the same time, undertaxation of Land gives Land an INFLATED PRICE, which is reflected in SOARING RENTALS. Unperceived and silent, this fundamental INJUSTICE operates at the very basis of our civilization, and must be counteracted by an aroused public opinion, leading speedily to appropriate legislation, as in New Zealand; Sydney, Australia, etc.

Churches cannot Go into Politics, but can Restore Social Justice to Religion, and Challenge Communism.—Organized religion can promote and intensify the present world-wide social awakening. It can do so by reasserting the social emphasis of the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. This is already being done by quite a number of clergymen and by the resolutions passed by some church organizations.

* * *

Two circulars, entitled (1) *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* and (2) *Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God,* will be forwarded to you if you send postage in the amount of six cents, as partial coverage of mailing cost. Write clearly, or better, print name and address inside and outside your envelope. If no stamps are sent, no circulars will be forwarded.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

ADVERTISEMENT

want glamour, but in our own parlors we want versimilitude. Delbert Mann, who directed both versions of Paddy Chayefsky's little romance, is accurate to a fault: the people and situations in "Marty" are so "real" that they are not very interesting, and the picture has little drive or shape. What it does provide is solace: Marty (Ernest Borgnine) and his Clara (Betsy Blair) are neither beautiful nor bright; nevertheless they fall gloriously in love, and if it can happen to them it can happen to anyone.

Borgnine and Miss Blair are wonderfully convincing at their folksy work; you will scarcely fail to be touched by this timid union based on mutual loneliness and the gentleness of countless disappointments. "Marty" is a modest film, not very important and not very memorable, but I wish it well. For one thing, it is a timely rebuttal of Hollywood's repeated insinuation that sex is the prerogative of the spectacularly sexy.

"THE PURPLE PLAIN" and "Front Page Story" are a couple of British imports that look so much like the American commercial product as to make no difference. The first is an R. A. F. melodrama which involves a crash landing in the Burmese jungle, a painful hike through Jap-held territory (no Japs appear), and the love of a beautiful native girl with Mayfair manners. Gregory Peck has been borrowed from us to play the lead; his flavor is about as British as pastrami on rye. Except that I have seen it all before, I have only one quarrel with the picture: when he crashes, Peck has with him a certain Captain Blore (Maurice Denham), in peace time a scientist of some reputation. This chap is made the symbol of the intellectual, as opposed to the hero's simple man of action. He is then shown up as a fool and a weakling, vindictive and cowardly when the chips are down. The point is made carefully and explicitly, and I don't admire the British when they borrow our "know-nothing" bigotry along with our war-spectacle cliches. The story is by Eric Ambler.

"Front Page Story" is about our old friend the hard-as-nails, heart-of-gold editor who believes that, next to the Sermon on the Mount, the noblest sentiment of man is "if it's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

news, we'll print it!" We encounter editor Grant (Jack Hawkins) on a busy day—a beautiful lady is acquitted of the mercy killing of her husband and then dies under a bus trying to elude a posse of Grant's news hawks; a distinguished scientist arrives incognito, passes a matchbox to a suspicious stranger, and is lured up to the editor's office by an alcoholic but spy-wise old reporter (another dig at the egg heads; England is really wising up); the top sob sister brings in a large family of waifs who have been dispossessed by bureaucracy and the paper adopts them to the sound of manly sobs; the editor's wife is so pained by his inattention that she runs off to Paris and is reported killed in an air crash—only she had really repented and was not on the plane. It is unusual for a paper to be quite so much involved in its own front-page news; but then it is also unusual for the news editor to harangue the entire staff—and what an enormous staff!—on the beauty and virtue of the profession. Nobody yelled "scoop," but all the other formalities were observed in this salute to the fourth estate.

"GRAN VARIETA" is, I suspect, a picture that played with considerable success in the neighborhood houses of Italy. It is a series of small stories hung together on the device of tracing the history of a renowned variety house from before the First World War to the coming of the Yankees in the Second. The only performers American audiences will know are Vittorio de Sica and Lea Padovani, and the "turn" they appear in is the least good of the five.

The picture has not much chance in this country outside the Italian districts. The little stories are trite and sentimental; the deliberate "dating" looks simply corny to anyone unfamiliar with the quality of Italian vaudeville. But some of the players are brilliantly stylish at their special kind of theater, and the film seemed to me to have a wonderfully Italian flavor. Or perhaps I am being foolishly nostalgic for a country where I have never been.

Music

B. H. Haggin

IN THE performance of Gluck's "Orfeo ed Euridice" I attended at the Metropolitan Rise Stevens's first sustained laments of "Euridice!" were steady and beautiful; but most of the time thereafter when she sang with power and intensity her voice was dry and tremulous. There was, however, beautiful singing by Hilde Gueden, Laurel Hurley, and Shakeh Vartenissian; the work of chorus and orchestra under Monteux's direction was good; and he paced the performance well, except for the extremely slow tempo of *Che faro* (in the libretto with the Urania recording the opening phrase is quoted with the directions Andante con moto and alla breve).

As for the dramatic performance, Stevens throughout and Gueden in her one scene were effective and convincing—remarkably so in their touching scene together, when one considers the handicap of the narrow platform on which they had to operate. But the action of the principals is only a small part of what happens on the stage in performances of this work—the rest being the movements of dancers to the many pieces of ballet music. For this performance they were devised by Zachary Solov, who revealed again his infallible gift for the right movement for the wrong effect: exactly the right movements of the group outside Euridice's tomb to make the proceedings look like the goings-on in a class in Modern Dance (Intermediate) in a progressive college; exactly the right lift of her knee or little backward bend of her leg to make Markova's running and prancing and miming look like a spoof of what it was intended to be.

The New York City Opera Company restored to its production of Rossini's "La Cenerentola" the John Butler twentieth-century spoof of ballet that is completely out of context in the nineteenth-century work and is a shocking lapse of taste and intelligence in an otherwise fine achievement. Another change was the use of English, which, when it

THE QUAKER APPROACH TO CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS

June 12-19

The Third Annual Avon Institute
Avon Old Farms, Avon, Connecticut

Seven full days in the lovely and peaceful Connecticut countryside—the ideal setting in which to discuss in small round-table groups the "Quaker Approach" to personal pacifism, ethical conflicts, political action, and other questions that need examination by all of us today. Round-table clerks will be Quakers qualified in group leadership. This is the heart of the Institute.

Quaker leaders will include: **Cecil Hinshaw**, just returned from a round-the-world trip; Hallam Tennyson, British Quaker who has worked in India; Norman Whitney, Professor at Syracuse University; Milton Mayer, author and lecturer; Raymond Wilson, Friends Committee on National Legislation.

SPECIAL GUEST SPEAKERS—Mrs. Chester Bowles, just returned with her husband from a trip through Asia and Africa; and Arthur Lall, Permanent Envoy from India to the United Nations.

The program is designed to provide an unhurried, relaxed pace. Food is excellent—plenty of recreation. $55 for everything. For further information and registration form write to:

Russell Johnson, Peace Section
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

2nd HI-FI CLEARANCE OF THE YEAR
$30,000 Hi-Fidelity Components
inventory at 20% below audiophile nets.
Complete selection of all leading lines. Pilot, Bogen, Electrovoice, Fairchild, Fisher, Stephens, Reko-Kut, Interelectronics, National, Magnecord, Crestwood, Jim Lansing, McIntosh, etc., etc.
Mail Orders of Course.
Write for quotations on items of specific interest.
Audio Bargain Center
Box 12, Fleetwood Sta., Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

Publish Your Book
We will publish, promote, advertise and distribute your book. We are rated officially among the largest leading publishers in the U. S. Our successful plan insures prompt publication. Manuscript reports in one week. No obligation.
Send for free Brochure B for details.
Pageant Press, Inc., 130 W. 42nd St., N. Y.

ANTON REFREGIER
Paintings of Latin America May 2-21
A C A GALLERY
63 East 57 Street New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

PEACE IN CHINA by William Hanson. Here are the facts on the Formosa crisis. Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. This timely pamphlet reviews the issues, sets possible courses of action. 16 pp. and map. You may order it, postpaid, for only 15c from—Peace Section, A.F.S.C., 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. M, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

BRITISH BOOKS—All Subjects—direct from London to you. Bargain catalogues free. Transbooks, Box 22-N, Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS. Let us find them for you. OSTER'S, Dept. C, Box 111, Times Square Station, New York 36, N. Y.

COMPLETE CATALOG OF PAPERBOUND BOOKS
Just published! Index to 4500 inexpensive reprints and original editions. 40 Publishers including Pocket, Signet, Penguin, Anchor, Vintage and Modern Library Paperbounds. Invaluable permanent reference book. Send $1.00 today (refunded with your first purchase) to Book Mail Service, Dept. N, Box 363, Jamaica 31, N. Y.

IF YOU THINK
"IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE," READ:

They Thought They Were Free

THE GERMANS 1933-45
by Milton Mayer

A startling book based on intensive interviews with typical "common" people whose lives were better under Nazism—until war reverses started.

345 pages Just Published $4.75 postpd.

WELLINGTON'S
346 Concord Ave., Belmont, Mass.

could be heard clearly, did enable the audience to understand and be amused by some details of the dialogue, but which caused greater difficulty for the singers, and was less effective to hear, in the passages of fast chatter than the Italian words. Except for the roughness of Donald Gramm's baritone the opera was sung well by a cast in which Frances Bible and Richard Wentworth were again outstanding—the one with the increased steadiness and opulence of her mezzo-soprano voice in addition to her assured bravura style, the other with his superb buffo singing. And again the outstanding defect was the pedestrian and poor-sounding playing that Rosenstock produced with the orchestra.

Wentworth's buffo performance also was the outstanding strength, and the orchestral performance conducted by Rosenstock one of the weaknesses, of the company's new production of Donizetti's "Don Pasquale." In addition there were on the one hand excellent settings and costumes designed by John Boyt, and a good performance by Richard Torigi as Doctor Malatesta; but on the other hand a strenuously mannered vocal and dramatic performance by Adelaide Bishop as Norina, and singing by Davis Cunningham as Ernesto that was unlyrically tight and dry in the upper range. Salvatore Baccaloni listed as artistic adviser, seems to have advised Leopold Sachse well in the direction of the work.

A remarkable performance by William Wilderman as Falstaff and excellent singing and acting by William Shriner, Phyllis Curtin, and the rest of the cast were wasted on Nicolai's "The Merry Wives of Windsor." The work has a place in the history of German opera—or rather German light opera, since it turns out to be the source of the musical style of modern German operetta—and therefore a place in the repertory of German opera houses. But the only justification for producing it in this country would be the quality of the music; and this justification the production at City Center doesn't have: the facile tuneful writing has no claim to the attention of American listeners. Concerning the production itself I should add that Vladimir Rosing's staging was good; but that Rosenstock produced an especially poor-sounding and graceless orchestral performance; that I disliked the cuteness of Boyt's scenery and the ugly colors of the women's costumes; and that what little I could hear of Josef Blatt's English translation I would have preferred not to hear.

This would be the right point to discuss the situation at City Center that was brought to the public's notice by the resignation of Lincoln Kirstein. But to deal with its complexities and with the fatuous nonsense written about it for the New York *Times* would need more space than I have left.

FORUM

Friday Eve., May 6 — 8:30
Hear
DAN GILLMOR
Editor: "Friday" Magazine
Author: "Fear, The Accuser"
"THE ART OF WITCH HUNTING"
Handling the Heretic — from the Middle Ages to 1955!
Questions ● *Refreshments*
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86 St., N. Y.
Contribution: 85c

LITERARY SERVICE

PINK PILLS and PUBLISHED AUTHORS!

One does not swallow a pink pill and wake up a published author. For the sale of your Stories, Books, Articles and TV plays—consult **MEAD LITERARY AGENCY**, 419 4th Ave., Dept. Y15, New York, N.Y. No obligation. Write **TODAY!**

PLACE YOUR SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR IMPORTED PERIODICALS IN ENGLISH TO BE MAILED TO YOU FROM NEW YORK.

SOVIET UNION—Life in the USSR thru the camera's eye. Multicolor illustrated monthly — large format. 12 issues — $3.00

SOVIET WOMAN— Illustrated monthly—the life of Soviet women in all aspects — home life, child care, fashions, industry, social devlopment. 12 issues — $3.00

SOVIET LITERATURE—Monthly magazine of Literature and Art—novels, plays, poetry, literary criticism — color illustrations. 12 issues — $3.00

NEWS— Semi-monthly—devoted to economic and political developments in the USSR and the world. 24 issues — $3.00

NEW TIMES— Weekly—devoted to analysis of the foreign policy of the USSR and world affairs. 52 issues — $5.75

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS— An authoritative monthly review of current affairs in the USSR and the world. 12 issues — $4.75

HUNGARY—From Budapest—a multicolor illustrated monthly depicting life in the New Hungary in all aspects. 12 issues — $3.50

Send for FREE catalog of Books and Periodical's in English and Russian "E-55" and "R-55"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORPORATION

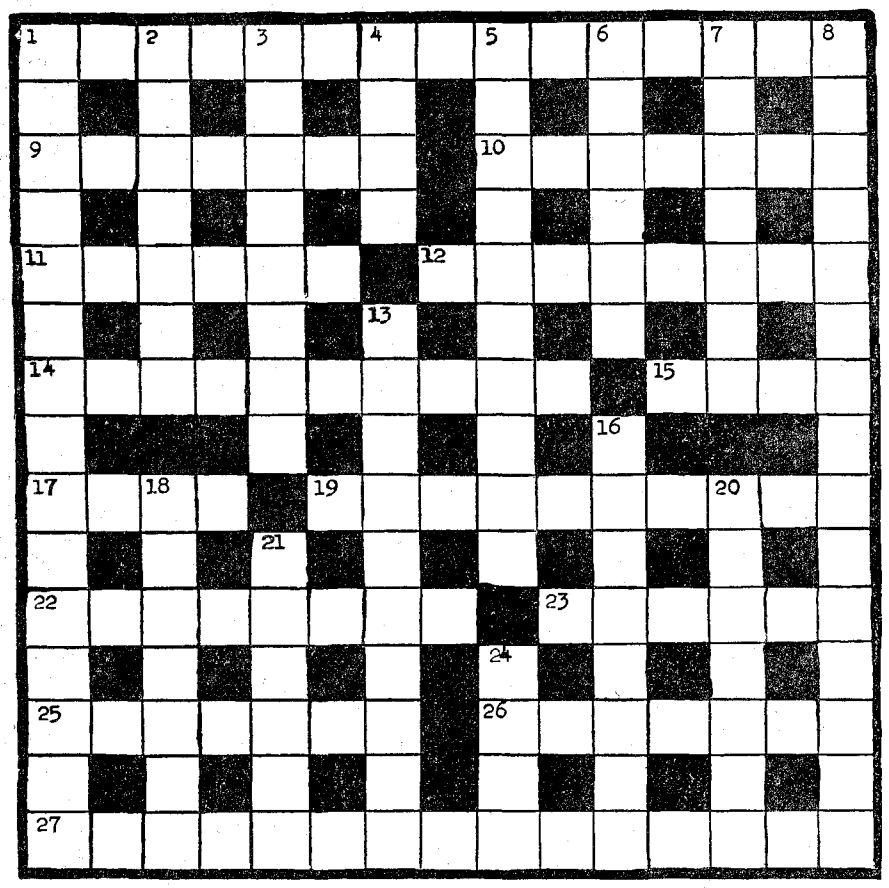
55 West 56 Street, New York 19, NY — Dept. DM — 822 Broadway, New York 3, NY

Telephone: GRamercy 3-2018-19

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 617

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 15 across. Notice where it might be safe to pass? (4,2,3,6,4)
9 Is sort of closely surrounded, in a way, by bone. (7)
10 Where to find the fiber bent, but not drawn out. (2,5)
11 Something soft, but not exactly down. (4,2)
12 The Morse garble for the old folks? (4,4)
14 True story does, even though the riddle doesn't. (5, 5)
15 See 1 across
17 It's very strange to find it in Scotland. (4)
19 Its heart is me, in a way, coming about, if you take something under it. (10)
22 No foot, in the vernacular, to help bring back the strain! (8)
23 Three articles for her, but one is incorrect. (6)
25 The sort of mineral that takes a common silver finish? (7)
26 Light-brown. (7)
27 Exaggerated comparison, but the set might be expensive. (7,2,6)

DOWN

1 With something other than a first class carriage, should have a little porch on one end and a sort of deer on the other. (5-10)
2 Windy. (7)
3 Concerning part of the menu — including the greens, naturally! (2, 6)
4 The British call them sleepers, but we would never wear them to bed. (4)
5 A pie mix with the first book relating to ore deposition. (10)
6 Courses pursued, or parts of them. (6)
7 One of the extremes the Marines went to? (7)
8 Discriminating people, no doubt! (15)
13 Earth-bound? (10)
16 Opening a big to-do in the encampment? (4-4)
18 Put water on an irritation on top of the head. (7)
20 Put forth. (7)
21 Offhand, he may be enroute to the station. (6)
24 Finally, perhaps, the name is not the same. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZLE No. 616

ACROSS: 1, 30, 14 and 17 MAD DOGS AND ENGLISHMEN GO OUT IN THE MID-DAY SUN; 10 DIAGRAM; 12 COSSETED; 13 THILL; 15 ON TAP; 19 UNDRESSES; 21 LILAC; 23 ICING; 24 MAINLAND; 27 TENANTS; 29 ENDS. DOWN: 1 and 11 MADE TO ORDER; 2 DRAW OUT; 3 and 6 ORRISROOT; 4 SOMETIMES; 5 NOTED; 7 ORDAINS; 8 and 28 TURTLE-NECK SWEATER; 9 FOOTBALL; 16 PLEDGING; 18 DISMISSAL; 30 DEIGNED; 22 LONG TOM; 24 MASON; 25 LIENS; 26 GRIN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501.

LAKE LOUANNE, ideal spot for rest and relaxation. 200 acres woodland, rustic trails, private lake, boating, fishing. Charming home with fireplace. Large rooms with private bath. Small group, informal, friendly service.
Also, one room cabin with fireplace and porch on island in our Lake. Housekeeping facilities.
Lake Louanne, Old Clinton Rd., Westbrook, Conn. Phone: CLinton 6-2465.

Echo Lake Lodge
In the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Vacation Resort for the Entire Family
- On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
- New canoes, boats, swim and fish
- Tenns, ping-pong, shuffleboard
- Music, square dancing, camp-fires
- Summer theatres nearby

Diana & Abe Berman, N.Y.-WA4-6046, Hubbardton 17-2

SUMMER RENTAL

ULSTER COUNTY. Bungalows: (1) four rooms—(1) five rooms. Fully equipped kitchens, fireplaces, screened porches. Secluded, but accessible. Beautiful view. Long season. OR 5-7225 weekdays.

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining — Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

PERSONALS

MODERN SALAD BOWLS—10" X 6"—$17.95; 12' X 6"—$22.50. Ebony or Mahogany. SPECIAL 50% OFF. Standard Brand Dist., 143-4th Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

LOSE WEIGHT CARDS, the higher I.Q. way to lose weight. $1 per set 45 different flash cards. Also, QUIT SMOKING CARDS, $1. HSF GAMES, 1918 No. Jefferson St., Arlington 5, Va.

WORKER WANTED

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR to assume full responsibility for operation of Educational and Cultural Center for Labor Organization. Year around position with good remuneration for energetic, qualified person preferably with experience in adult education. All communications held strictly confidential. Please write stating qualifications and references—Box 394, % The Nation.

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two great American journalists bluntly accuse the United States Government of a shocking miscarriage of justice in the case of J. Robert Oppenheimer. Read their fearless, detailed, documented, name-naming book

WE ACCUSE!

by Joseph and Stewart Alsop

THE title of this report is borrowed from Emile Zola whose *J'Accuse!* marked the turning point in the case of Captain Dreyfus.

"It is a title," the authors themselves say, "that one must be presumptuous to borrow; and we only dare to do so because we too accuse. We accuse the Atomic Energy Commission in particular, and the American government in general, of a shocking miscarriage of justice in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer."

This strongly worded, solidly documented book is based on the facts of Dr. Oppenheimer's personal history, on an examination of the letters and documents which figured in the case, and on a scrupulous analysis of the transcripts of both the Gray Board and AEC findings.

Send for your copy of WE ACCUSE! today. Price $1, paperbound.

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, PUBLISHERS

To your bookseller, or
SIMON AND SCHUSTER, Dept. AD
630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20

Please send me _____ copies of WE ACCUSE! by Joseph and Stewart Alsop. I enclose $1 for each copy.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

(N. Y. C. residents please add 3% city sales tax.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED